PETH HUXLEY ON
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—see page 163

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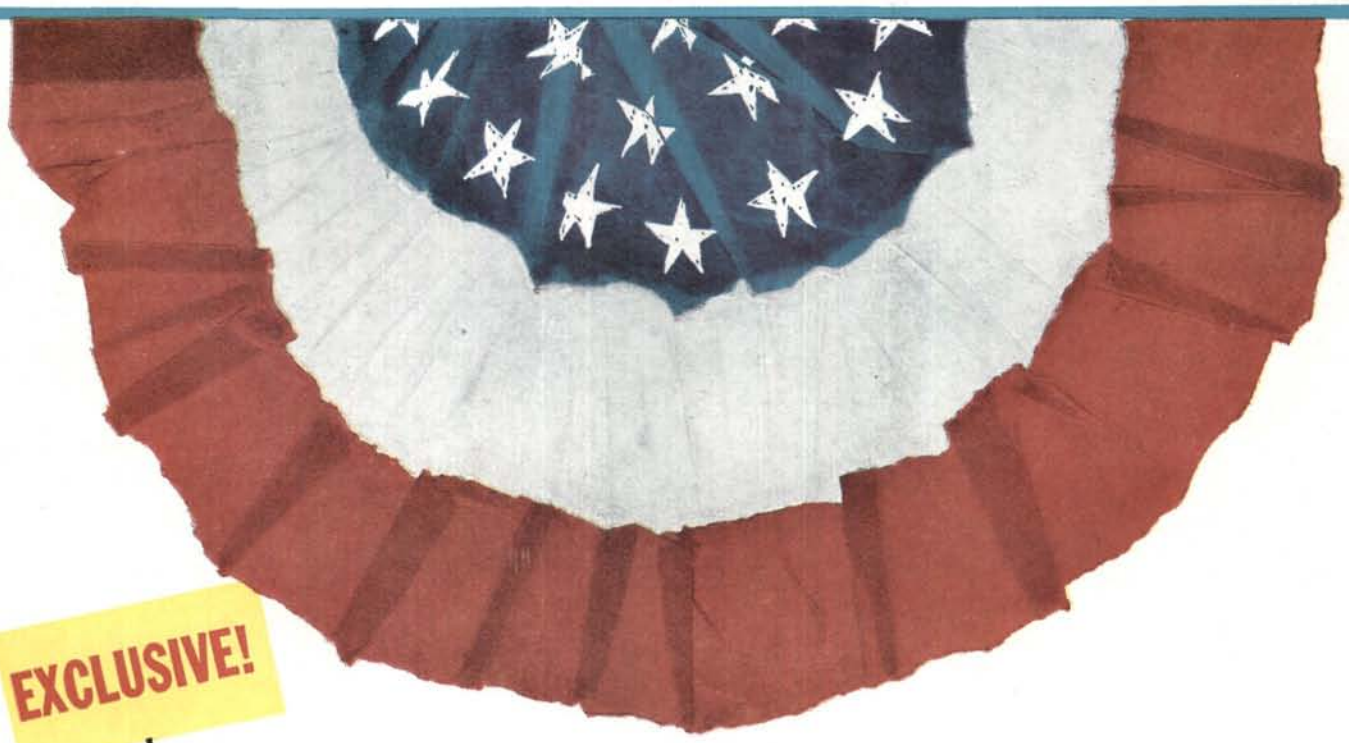
FEBRUARY 22, 1966

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion



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In This Issue . . .

➔We feature a state-by-state analysis of the political vectors that will converge next November to give us a new House, a slightly used Senate, and dozens of mint-fresh gubernatorial terms. Reviewing hundreds of separate races, Mr. **Edward J. Bell** sums it all up in a grand prophecy that the Republicans will gain several seats in the House, stand fast in the Senate, and be run out of a couple of statehouses. Mr. Bell has been a passionate observer of politics for half of his young life; was until recently an associate of ours; is now observing the politics of the Armed Forces at, uh, precinct level . . . . Indonesia, which has resolved itself into a felled cherry tree at the hands of George Washington Sukarno, gets a double exposure. **Laszlo M. Taubinger,** a European professional observer of politics east of the Elbe, tells of the events that led up to the recent Communist *coup manqué*. Another expert, traveling incognito as **"Richard D. Benson,"** weighs the forces remaining after the attempted coup and decides that the U.S. has much to be thankful for. The question is, Will State know how to break its losing streak? . . . . **Elspeth Huxley** writes from England, having returned from Australia, of the tribal significance of the upheaval in Nigeria, and of the bitter contradiction in a Western policy that accepts African assassinations and dictatorships as long as their name is not Smith . . . . Mr. **Terry Catchpole** is based in Washington, D.C., where he keeps his eyes open, busies himself with running the Right Wing, and files an occasional report such as this one on HUAC's hearings on the Klan . . . . **"George Hobart"** recommends South America as a delectable change from the old Europe circuit. His real name is C. de Gaulle . . . . Prof. **Hugh Kenner** pays courteous and grateful homage to the memory of the late Buster Keaton.

➔**Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** remarks the growing intemperateness of Catholics who disagree with Catholics . . . . **Frank S. Meyer** points out the paradox of our firm stand in the war zone of Vietnam and our self-defeating assumption that the intentions of Moscow are pacific. If we engage in "peaceful coexistence," we lose Southeast Asia . . . . **James Burnham** takes up the Vietnam question in the formulation given to it by General Gavin, whose recent "trilemma" in *Harper's* has stirred up quite a debate in high places . . . . **Russell Kirk** bells the cats of the "new morality," which is, he knows, merely the old immorality, and should be impeached.

➔Evelyn Waugh's novels of the Crouchback trilogy have been issued as a single volume, and Prof. **Jeffrey Hart,** filing his copy from England, makes it the occasion of an essay on moral knowledge and chaos, as they exist, and as Waugh makes art of them . . . .Andrew Shonfield's *Modern Capitalism* is a major apology for Keynesian interventionism. The Establishment has tried to balloon it. **William Rickenbacker** says it is a vile suppuration, that needs lancing . . . . Prof. **Frederick D. Wilhelmsen,** now at Dallas, reviews an uneven study of the European Right . . . . **Phillip Abbott Luce** rejected the festered Left a year ago; here he reviews and rejects a fictional trash . . . . **Farley Clinton,** a young free-lancer absorbed in a book on the Vatican Council, sums up Maugham.➔

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Edmund Burke, too, is a man for our time: like us he lived in an age of revolution. He saw intellectuals of satanic arrogance itching to make mankind conform to their blueprints and contemptuous of every value that Christian civilization stood for. And he saw what it would all lead to: lawless mobs screaming for blood. Burke shows us why the one inevitably leads to the other — why the people we call Liberals make smooth the path to Auschwitz and Budapest . . . the Bay of Pigs . . . Berkeley . . . Watts. *Reflections on the Revolution in France* is more than an incomparable source of conservative ideas. It is one of the world's great models of vivid prose.

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* proved that free enterprise made sense — and made prosperity. Smith, anticipating the bleeding hearts of our own day, showed how enlightened self-interest helps the underdog more than a dozen "poverty programs". Smith had an inquiring mind, an eye that missed nothing, and a pen that makes the ideas of freedom all but dance on the page.

Democracy in America is fascinating on several levels. It is a picture of our national character that still holds true in many ways; a knowing look at our political and social and religious habits (it took a sympathetic Frenchman to notice how really different we are); and, above all, a remarkable analysis of the prospects of freedom in a nation that, even in the 1830's, was moving fast from mixed and limited government to mass democracy. Because Tocqueville liked America and loved liberty, and because his own land made the easy slide from Liberalism to mob rule to tyranny, he has insights for us that we dare not ignore.

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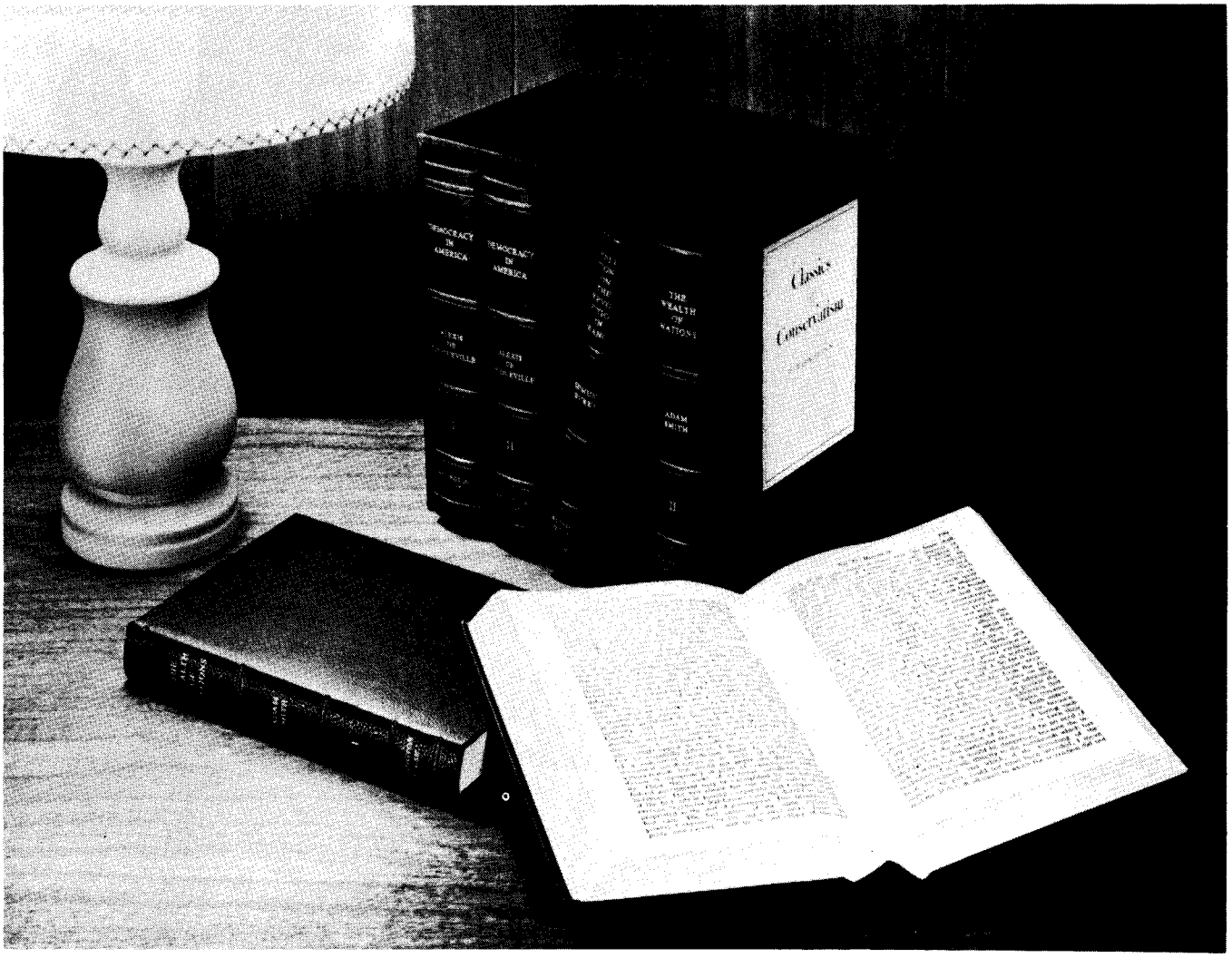

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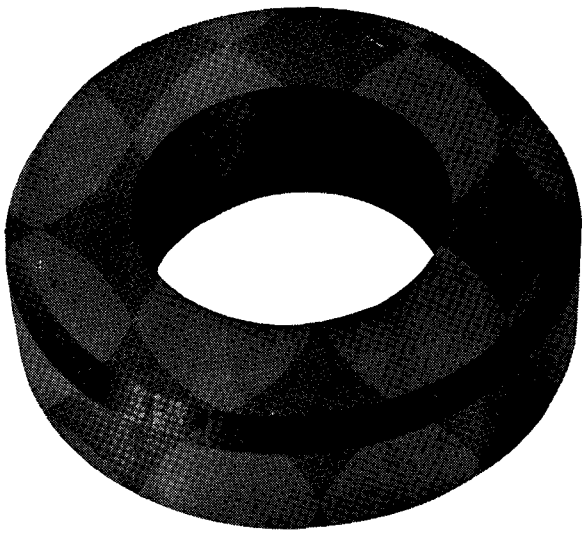

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TO THE EDITOR

Begging to Differ

When Russell Kirk stoops to folly, as he did in "Academic Disorder at St. John's," [Feb. 8] he outdoes himself. He has managed to ignore all the basic issues and reduce a straightforward question of justice to an occasion for an anti-union diatribe. It is curious indeed that in a column entitled "From the Academy" Mr. Kirk has not mentioned the fact that every academic group that has spoken out on the sorry mess at St. John's—and this includes administrative, faculty and student groups in Catholic and secular colleges in this country, Canada and Europe—has supported the faculty and denounced the administration. Perhaps Mr. Kirk believes that they are all dupes of organized labor or victims of demagoguery.

Certainly, academic license has prevailed at St. John's. The administration's dismissal — without warning, without charges, and without explanation — of thirty-one teachers is a perfect example of license. Some twenty of these teachers were dismissed "effective immediately," although three weeks of the semester remained; a roster of eight vague, sinister "examples of unprofessional conduct" was released to the press, presumably to be applied to the dismissed faculty members as the individual reader saw fit, and reputations be damned; two more excellent examples of license. The fact that teachers have rebelled against this sort of administrative high-handedness does not mean, as Mr. Kirk suggests, that they are malcontents, labor dupes, or would-be martyrs. It means simply that there are limits to what a man will endure. When faced with a choice between picketing and groveling, the man of conscience pickets.

I have no desire to engage in a point-by-point refutation of Mr. Kirk's article. Most of his statements are obviously biased, and several are demonstrably untrue. His estimate of the number of strikers at "forty or fifty" is rather stingy: thirty-one were dismissed; sixty-nine more have walked out, according to administration figures; more have resigned. That "the academic strikers will find it harder to refurbish their own reputations" is disproved by the fact that many of them have been offered far better positions than those they held at St. John's; if Mr. Kirk would like me to provide him with their names, I will gladly do so.

Baldwin, N.Y. JOHN MORRESSY

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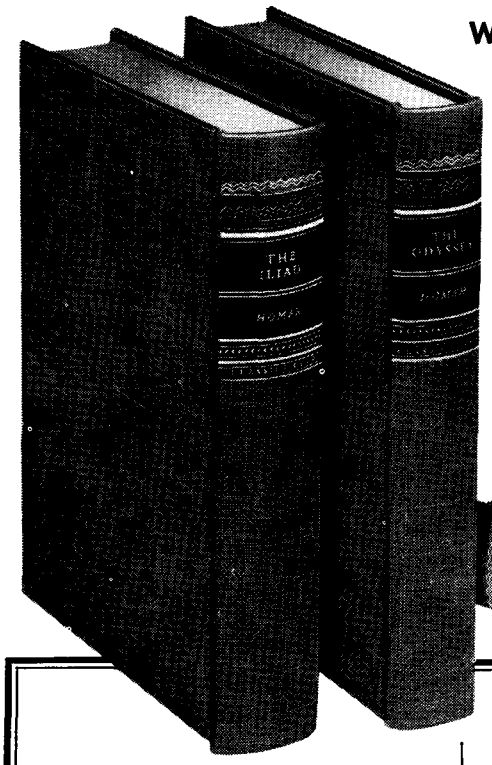

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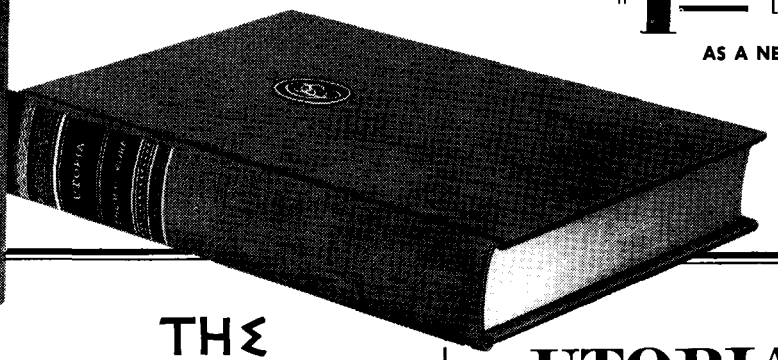

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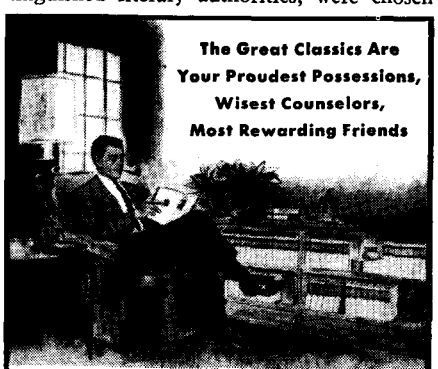

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Thomas Werge's letter on my treatment of Karl Barth, has just reached me here.

I do not see that his quotation from Barth supports the claim he makes; rather, it exemplifies Barth's usual stress on our encounter with God here and now. In *that* sense Barth indeed is "historical." But in the sense clearly intended in my essay he is not. As Barth says in his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, "My whole energy of interpretation has been expended in an endeavor to see through and beyond history into the Spirit of the Bible, which is the Eternal Spirit." In *The Resurrection of the Dead,* commenting on 1 Corinthians 15, he inveighs against any Easter narrative which is a "recounting of events." It is this sort of thing, indeed, that has caused Barth's critics so frequently to charge him with "concealed docetism." As Stephen Neill, a sympathetic critic, writes: "The question is whether Karl Barth has really given the weight to the historical approach that is its due. I think the honest answer must be that for long stretches of his commentary he entirely fails to do so."

A small rhetorical point: In view of the subject matter of our discussion here, I do not think Mr. Werge ought to speak of "unpardonable" sins.

Oxfordshire, England JEFFREY HART

(Continued on p. 181)

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404 525-4585

Boston: Thomas L. Masson Co.
921 Park Square Bldg.
617 482-2088

Chicago: Dale McCutcheon & Co.
154 E. Erie Street
312 878-4468

Dallas: Media Representatives, Inc.
7900 Carpenter Freeway
214 ME 1-4480

Los Angeles: Aaron D. Viller & Associates
5311 Venice Blvd.
213 WE 9-1161

San Francisco: Robert A. Street & Co.
58 Sutter St.
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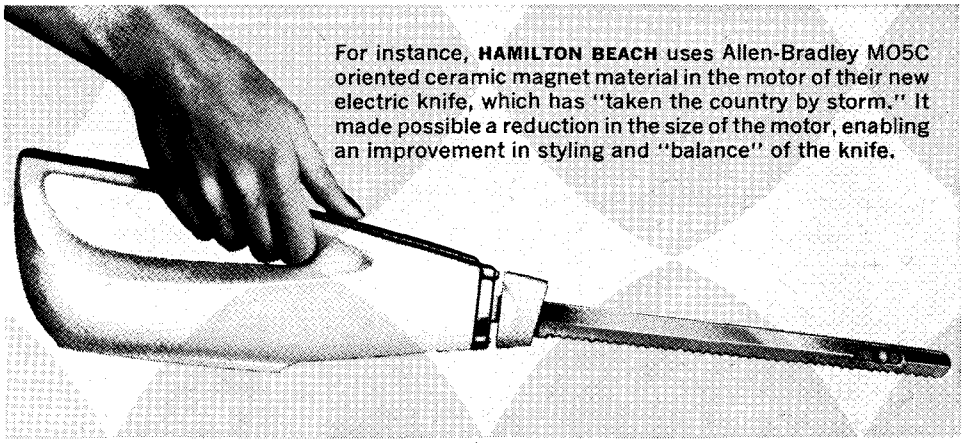
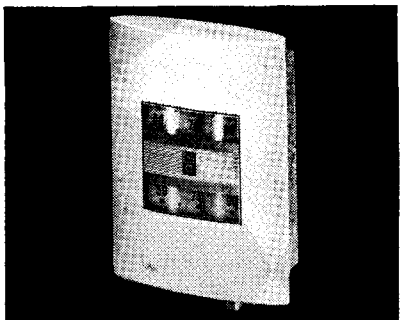
You have no idea of the many uses in which Allen-Bradley permanent magnets are doing "a better job!"

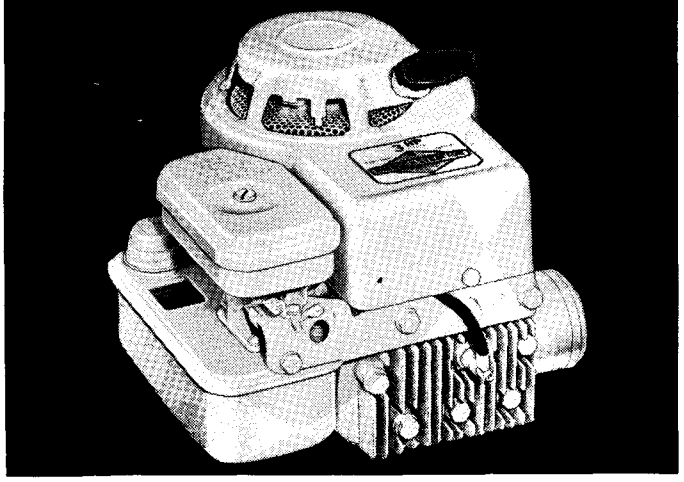


For instance, **HAMILTON BEACH** uses Allen-Bradley MO5C oriented ceramic magnet material in the motor of their new electric knife, which has "taken the country by storm." It made possible a reduction in the size of the motor, enabling an improvement in styling and "balance" of the knife.

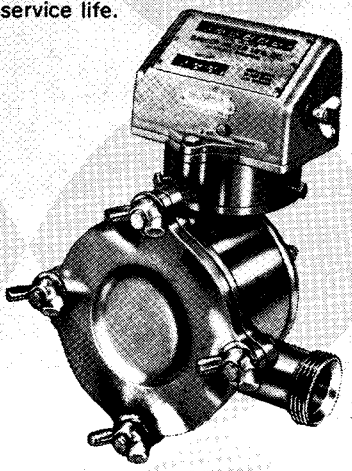


CONTROLS COMPANY OF AMERICA specified the toroid size and shape, along with the desired magnetic force for the biasing magnet in their new Model 84 low voltage thermostat. Allen-Bradley was able not only to furnish a ceramic permanent magnet to fit these exact specifications, but also provide greater consistency than obtained with the metallic magnets previously used.

BRIGGS & STRATTON'S new ignition system greatly improved coil, plug, and point life. Allen-Bradley MO5B permanent magnet material met all the requirements for magnetic strength, coercive force, and temperature coefficient.



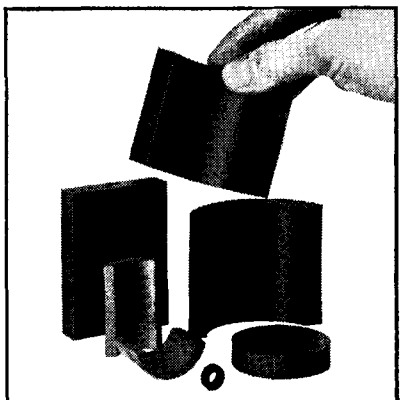
BADGER sanitary meter for liquid foods employs a magnetic drive consisting of permanent magnets on either side of the chamber wall, which eliminates the need for a packing gland. Allen-Bradley ceramic permanent magnets provide the required long service life.



■ Allen-Bradley ceramic permanent magnet materials cover such a broad range of specifications, that they should be able to satisfy new and unusual design problems that may be baffling your engineers. Oriented, as well as nonoriented materials, are available. And of these, you'll find the new MO5C permanent magnet material especially interesting.

MO5C is an oriented ceramic permanent magnet material that can open entirely new areas of permanent magnet applications. Outstanding is the fact that it can be produced in shapes previously limited to nonoriented materials. It also has a high energy product—2.6 times that of nonoriented materials. Then, too, there's a high coercive force and high residual induction. With these properties, this MO5C material has given engineers a new design flexibility—and an economic edge—with the permanent magnet motors which they have developed.

Allen-Bradley engineers will gladly work with your designers in the selection and application of the exact magnetic material for your project. For more complete information, please write: Allen-Bradley Co., 1210 South Third Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53204. Export Office: 630 Third Avenue, New York, New York, U.S.A. 10017.



Allen-Bradley ceramic permanent magnets are available in a wide range of sizes and shapes.

A-B QUALITY

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QUALITY MOTOR CONTROL
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865-1ABC

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This triangle marks the Krona Comfort Edge–only Schick has it. The edge is the working part of a razor blade. The more perfect the edge, the better the shave.

Now, those new thinking folks at Schick have put together three developments to create the Krona Comfort Edge. Called that because it adds extra comfort to the long life of stainless steel.

New Micro-grain Steel.
First, our scientists helped develop a new super stainless steel with smaller, more uniform particles. Called micro-grain, it takes an edge that's sharper, smoother, longer lasting.

New 1000 Foot Strop.
Next, to assure consistent quality, we added a thousand extra feet of stropping in a precision machine. And that's on each edge of our double edge blades.

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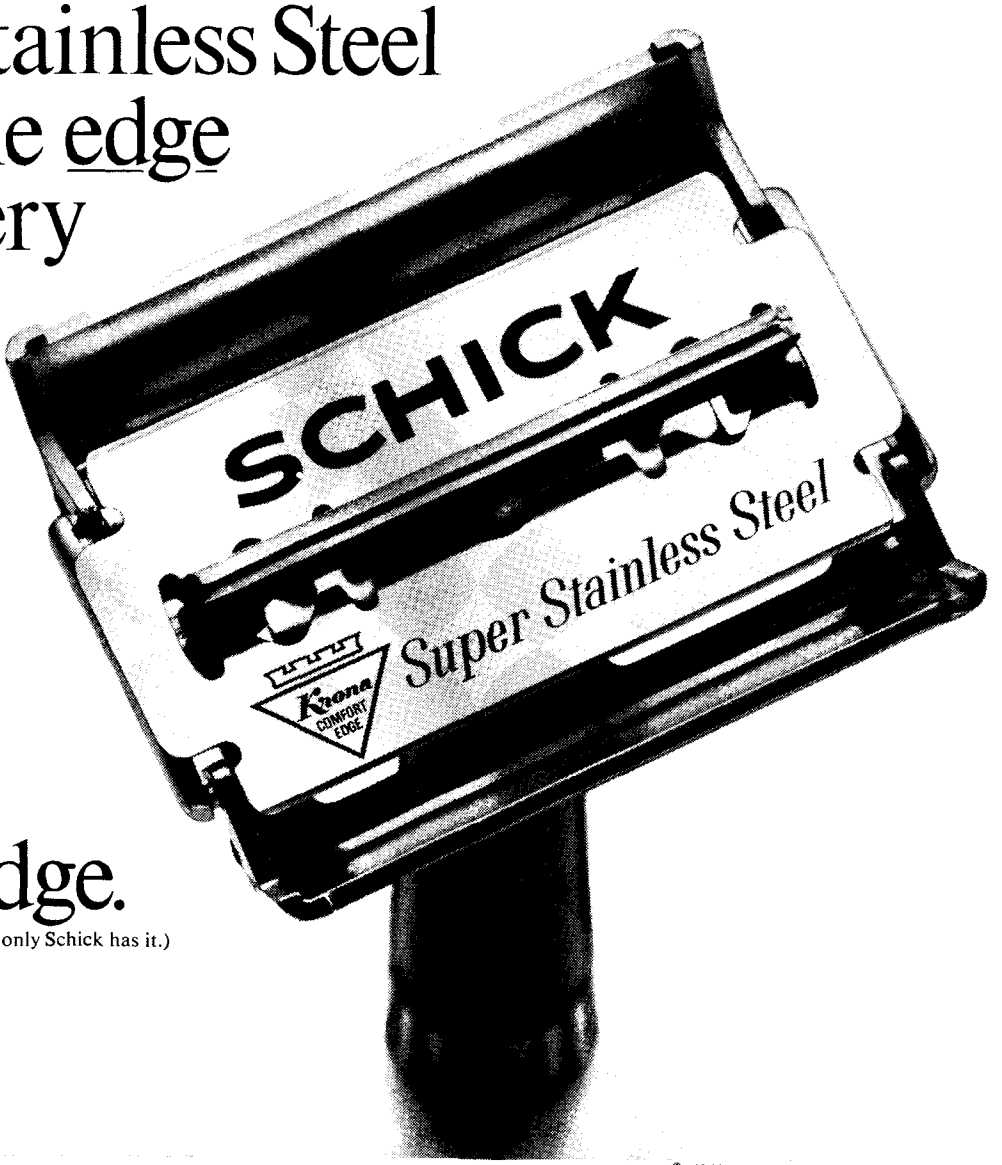
Then we developed an extremely smooth polymer coating. This is the most friction-free substance known to man, bonded to the metal with intense heat in a secret process.

New Krona Comfort Edge.
All these developments create our new Krona Comfort Edge. It gives you extra comfort and the most shaves possible. That's why Schick has the edge over every other blade.

New from those new thinking folks at Schick.

Look for the New Green Pack.

What gives Schick's new Super Stainless Steel blade the edge over every other blade?



The edge.

(The Krona Comfort Edge...only Schick has it.)

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The WEEK

● The Establishment in a Nutshell Dept.: the *New York Times*, describing (Feb. 8) the reception given a book on Marx by the English scholar Sir Isaiah Berlin: "Although the book is hostile to Marxism, critics liked it for its objectivity and its felicities of style."

● Ever hear of a participation sale? It's worth $2 billion of hidden expenses in President Johnson's latest budget Federal lending agencies pool their outstanding mortgages and sell pro-rata interests in the mortgage pool to private investors. Outright sales of mortgages add another $1 billion to the cash revenues of the Federal Government that are *not* counted as revenue but as deductions from expenses or outlays. The effect on the estimated deficit is nil, but the trick does remove $3 billion from both sides of the equation, and so understates total budgeted spending by that amount. Thought you'd like to know.

● Last October the FCC announced it was going to take a long look at AT&T's rate structure. The stock sagged from 65 to 58—a drop, on 500 million shares, amounting to $3.5 billion of market value. Last week Commissioner Rosel Hyde of the FCC's Telephone Committee announced that there wasn't any cause to fret; they just wanted to have a look; they didn't *really* hate AT&T. The stock has recovered to the 64 level. A man could get rich if he only knew what Rosel Hyde will say next.

● After the mismanagement of the War on Poverty broke into the headlines last year, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. announced that his Labor and Welfare Committee would investigate the malefactions. He relieved the poverty of his staff by unburdening the taxpayers of $200,000 for this special research, and last week, having spent both cash and curiosity, he announced that he had discontinued the effort. There will be no report, even though there were 200,000 findings.

● The Softs are cooing—but perhaps prematurely—over the latest shift in the State Department's top echelon. Jack Hood Vaughn moves over to Sargent Shriver's vacated half-seat as head of the Peace Corps. Lincoln Gordon, presently Ambassador to Brazil, will replace Vaughn as Asst. Secy. for Inter-American Affairs. The reason for the Softs' hopefulness is not that Mr. Gordon is softer than Mr. Vaughn, but rather that Mr. Vaughn is too soft. As a result, Inter-American Affairs, especially when critical (as at the time of the Dominican revolt), continued to be much influenced by his predecessor, the firm-minded Thomas Mann, who was upped last year to Under Secretary for Economic Affairs. Amb. Gordon is an abler man than Mr. Vaughn, and will doubtless aim to run his own office and make his own "the one voice on all matters affecting this Hemisphere" that President Kennedy talked about in 1963. As an ex-Harvard professor and authentic New Frontiersman, Mr. Gordon carries the correct Liberal credentials. But there was nothing Soft in the support he gave in 1964 to "Brazil's anti-Communist revolution" (his name for it) that swept the corrupt and infiltrated Goulart regime into the dustbin. That revolution, Amb. Gordon declared (a year before the Dominican affair), had prevented a Communist coup, and was "a turning point in East-West relations."

● The intricate wrangling now audible from Havana to Peking has set our more wishful thinkers to thinking that Castro is, after all, not under the thumb of those intransigent Chinese Communists—that he is, after all, much closer to Moscow, on the theory that Moscow and Peking are enemies, and the enemy of the enemy is an ally—that Moscow is mellower than Peking—that therefore Castro is mellowing—and that, *enfin,* in the Caribbean it's no sweat, Jack. Let's just back up a bit and remind ourselves that the likely basis for the current spat is the food situation (Peking ships a far better quality of food to Havana than Havana gets from the Moscow bloc); that Castro himself at the recent Tri-Continental conference chided Communist sibling rivalry as "unintelligent"; and that Havana, as the western center of world revolution, is bound to exhibit some of the tensions that stir in every gigantic enterprise. It is not the first time Castro has railed at Peking. It won't be the last. And Havana remains, as it was before, Herbert Matthews to the contrary notwithstanding, *theirs,* not ours.

● Mr. O. Roy Chalk, an entrepreneur with extremely high Democratic connections, recently spent a half hour in conversation with General Franco of Spain. Franco is reported to have urged a total U.S. commitment to victory in Vietnam followed by "discreetly" allowing the Vietnamese to choose a form of government. Being asked why Spain trades with Castro's Cuba, Franco ticked off the U.S. for trading with the Communist bloc, scuttling the Diem regime in Vietnam, and ignoring the people in Berlin and Budapest who staged desperate uprisings against their Communist overlords. The business climate in Spain,

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he said, is good; the country is stable; religious freedom is being extended gradually. In the wake of the nuclear bomb that dropped in the Mediterranean just off Spain's southern coast, all is, apparently, forgiven.

● The British, no doubt because they speak English, more and more become the trusted agents of transmission between Russia and the West, overcoming Italian instability and French independence. We saw the moon, seemingly a vast, frozen sponge hard enough to land on, in Soviet photographs intercepted by Sir Bernard Lovell at the Jodrell Bank in Macclesfield; Staughton Lynd to press a point makes tracks for the BBC and Trafalgar Square; and now the Russians are sending a writer, Valery Tarsis, billed as an "outspoken anti-Soviet," on a cultural tour of English universities. Tarsis is all too obviously a cover for the "open" (*i.e.* closed) trial back home of writers Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli M. Daniel. Under the circumstances, it behooves Tarsis' British hosts to ask a lot of embarrassing British questions.

● The Labor Party triumphed in the by-election at Hull, but on the other hand its man from Cornwall, a district only marginally safe for Labor, died of old age the same week, bringing Harold Wilson's majority back down to three. The cry is up to call a national election and strengthen Labor's palsied grip on the future while yet the national pro-Labor trend, if trend it be, continues. At the same time, the younger Turks in Wilson's party are mad and getting madder about his pro-U.S.-in-Vietnam stand and his wage-restraint policy for trade unions; their threat of a split, plus Wilson's own fear of angering voters by treating his party's plight as a national emergency, pose a real dilemma for Laborites to face. On the theory that the sound of kicked buckets concentrates the mind wonderfully, bettors are saying Harold will stay and raise.

● *Nobody here but us Nobel laureates,* says the Revved-up Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. *in re* the investigation of the Ku Klux Klan *and* the "civil rights movement" by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. "I've been strongly opposed," says R. Dr. M. L. K. Jr., "to using the machinery of the Federal Government to perpetuate the false notion that Communists have infiltrated the civil rights movement." King warned that HUAC might be committing suicide if it tries to investigate the civil rights movement. Such an investigation "can mobilize the kind of opposition to the committee which can well mean the end of it."

● On February 8 the 17th ("Silk Stocking") Congressional District of New York held a special election to pick a successor to John Lindsay. The Democrats ran Orin Lehman; the GOP, Councilman Theodore Kupferman; the Conservatives, Jeffrey St. John. Kupferman won by 995 votes, of 95,000 cast. St. John, with 7,800 votes, held the victory margin. And there's a trend. In 1964 Conservative O'Doherty got 5.0 per cent of the 17th's vote. In 1965 William Buckley got 7.9 per cent. This year St. John got 8.2 per cent. Kupferman will have to run again in November for a full term, and few observers expect the Conservative Party to miss the fun.

● The fluoridation battle continues. Last week a public meeting in Manhattan heard the testimony of a dozen scientists and physicians on the hazards of fluoridated water to the adult population. Just a week earlier, a group of researchers in Bloomington, Indiana reported on a three-year study they had made of 436 children, half of whom had taken regular vitamin pills, the other half vitamin pills pepped up with fluorides. The fluoridated-pill children had 63 per cent fewer cavities in their baby teeth and 45 per cent fewer in their adult teeth than the control group. Needless to say, that success had been achieved without administering involuntary, unnecessary, and extravagant medication to a whole adult population. If public affairs were conducted in the light of sweet reason. . . .

● *Sur la plage* the other week the Soviet ambassador thought he would pass Pablo Picasso the Lenin Peace Prize. Pass incomplete. Picasso pointedly took a powder, whether out of politics or pique knows no pundit. A man of few *paroles,* Pablo paints pretty *pour le peuple oui, pour le Prix de la Paix—pfui.*

● It was comforting to learn from old John Frango, publicity honcho at Pepsi-Cola, that under a contract recently negotiated the Bridges to the East will soon be groaning under tremendous loads of Pepsi on their way to Romania and Yugoslavia. Nothing like a cultural exchange of pop art.

Landmarks in Labor

Two events of recent date deserve notice in the unfolding story of race relations and organized labor. On February 4 the Justice Department brought suit against several construction trades unions in the St. Louis area on the grounds that they conspired to frustrate the fair employment provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Specifically, they are accused of violating Title VII of that Act, and this is the first suit that has been brought under that Title. The prima facie case is strong—the several unions involved have about 5,000 members, of whom only three are Negroes.

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Focus on WASHINGTON

◆ Skeptics see the hard, conservative rhetoric in the President's foreign aid address as an attempt to minimize congressional opposition to the program, which has been increasing dramatically in recent years. And why, they wonder, did he ask for a five-year authorization (rather than the customary annual authorization), when the House defeated his milder request for a two-year authorization last year and is almost certain to defeat this year's plea? Could it be that he wants to give Congress a "victory" on this point, hoping it will then grant the requested funds for Fiscal 1967 intact? The figure of $3.4 billion for the coming fiscal year is also viewed with skepticism. Much of the funds for the proposed international education and health acts are not listed in the budget under foreign aid, where they would naturally fall, but under other departments. By listing those funds separately, the President is able to claim that this is the lowest annual foreign-aid request in the program's history. It is also expected that the President will come back later with requests for "supplemental" funds, which in Fiscal 1966 increased foreign aid authorizations from an original $3.2 billion to $3.9 billion. A supplemental request this year would probably be concentrated on an area Congress would find hard to refuse—aid to the nations directly threatened by Communist aggression, such as Laos, Thailand and South Korea.

◆ Dollar escalation is becoming a crucial factor in the Viet war. Viet jungles force us to use helicopters as trucks. But where trucks cost a few thousand dollars, helicopters run up to a million dollars for the largest models. In addition, they consume enormous quantities of gasoline compared to ground transportation. The jungles are also forcing the Army to provide sophisticated communications gear in smaller units than ever before. Radio frequencies have to be sliced more finely to handle the heavier communications traffic—which jacks up costs. In addition, jungle fighting necessitates sophisticated target sensory gear, which is costly and requires technical staffs. Unlike the Korean war, which used WWII equipment, the Viet war is being waged with new material—all costly. A jet fighter now runs several million dollars, and planes are being consumed rapidly. Insurance on shipping to Saigon has skyrocketed. (It is even higher to Haiphong, a factor which is affecting commerce there.) There are higher ratios of support to combat troops than ever before. Because the Pentagon is cannibalizing its global forces to wage the Viet war, the true costs don't begin to appear in the budget.

◆ Both doves and hawks are giving Defense Secretary McNamara a hard time this year. The whiz kid chief turned down a request for public testimony before Senator Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee after the roughing-up they gave Secretary of State Rusk, but the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee still hopes to have it out with him over the issue of military shortages. The Pentagon is pooh-poohing the problem, but there are 40,000 to 60,000 items in short supply. For example, there are no reserves of 150- and 750-pound bombs: they move from assembly lines into action. The Senate Armed Services Committee will want to have a look at the Defense Secretary's plans to scrap two-thirds of SAC's big bombers. Sen. Richard Russell, committee chairman, says that "if he is right, we will save a few dollars. If he is in error, may a benign Providence save these United States!" And on still another front, McNamara is due for a dunking from the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, whose chairman, Rep. Edward Garmatz (D., Md.), recently wrote the Secretary voicing astonishment that "your department has [not] had in the past, nor even now possesses, a concise maritime logistics plan to support our armed forces in the Vietnam area. . . ." A forthcoming inquiry by that committee will produce some shocks, such as the realization that our mothball fleet is well into its third decade.

—CATO

Whether or not these specific unions will be found guilty, the case reminds us that the union movement in general has provided a convenient way for whites to suppress blacks in certain trades, and that this abuse of union power has more than a little to do with poverty in the black community and the quality of racial tensions in this country.

The second landmark amounted to an attack on the problem in another way. The Senate failed, on February 8, to get a two-thirds majority for cloture in the matter of unlimited debate on the repeal of Section 14(b) of Taft-Hartley. Repeal would give practically unlimited power to organized unionism. Keeping 14(b) makes it possible for the several states to outlaw compulsory union membership as a requirement for employment. The vote was 51 for cloture, 48 against (Sen. Pat McNamara of Michigan, Liberal Democrat, darling of Labor, not voting). Last year, on the same question, the Senate voted 45 for cloture, 47 against. The "good boys" [against cloture, for retention of 14(b)] lost two voices, those of Senator George McGovern (S.D.) and Senator Albert Gore (Tenn.), both Liberal Democrats, both from states that have made use of Section 14(b) to pass their own right-to-work laws.

Last year when the vote came up, President Johnson had a gall bladder operation. This year he suddenly went to Hawaii, there to agonize about the Vietnam War. It is clear that the President isn't pushing repeal of 14(b), and equally clear that the most recent Senate action, coupled with the Title VII suit of the Justice Department, augurs well.

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The Fulbright Syndrome

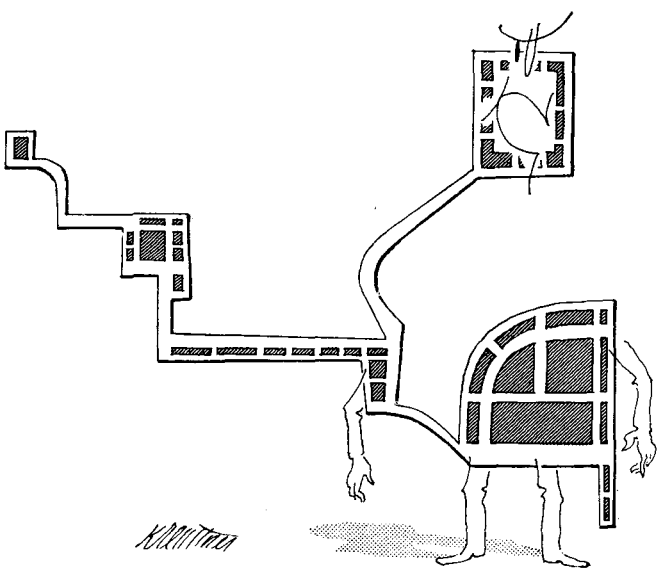
I guess when Hannibal set out to strike
The Romans from the rear, some voices rose
To register their visceral dislike
Of conflicts *conferences* should compose.
Or take the case of Montezuma. When
Three hundred Spaniards pounded at the gate,
Some counseled counting up to ten . . . and then
There wasn't anything to escalate.
The books are full of prophets proven wrong:
The trick is recognizing them in time.
(One squandered Eastern Europe for a song—
To be commemorated on the dime.)

W. H. VON DREELE

Must Republicans Be Cannibals?

The faggots are lit, the pot begins to boil, and before the Republican Party eats itself for supper we should inquire whether cannibalism wins elections. Columnists Evans & Novak, and journalist Bruce Biossat have already plumped for anthropophagy. Biossat, reporting on the recent meeting in Washington of 45 GOP state chairmen, notes that the chairmen resolved to bring "under tighter general party control" "those lesser but very noisy bastions of Goldwaterism—the Young Republicans and the Republican Women's Federation." Evans & Novak hail the entry of the state chairmen into "the post-Goldwater era" and complain that they didn't give sufficient oomph to their resolution "against runaway Republican organizations captured by the Right Wing—the Young Republicans and the Women's Republican National Federation." GOP national chairman Ray Bliss is reported to have argued against cooking the GOP conservatives until after the 1966 elections; and further reported to have been put on notice that the state chairmen don't swallow his dogma of unity at any price. "They want," say E & N, "victory at any price."

Now let's get this straight. What is going on here is not any high-minded purification of American politics. It is not even a low-minded bit of precinct politics. It is a purge spiced with vendetta, directed specifically towards those two parts of the GOP which still sound like Robert Taft, or the 1932 Democratic platform. It is the Liberal suicidalists issuing instructions to the Party on how to stage-manage its funeral. The "victory" for which the Liberal ideologists are willing to pay any price is precisely a victory over the conservative portion of the GOP, without regard to the outcome of political campaigns this autumn. Conservatives will be well advised not to relax, either in the contests at the polls or in the more exquisite contests for position in the party hierarchy.



"As Rezoned (but not Gerrymandered) Church District No. 32-MX, the logical outgrowth of Rezoned (but not Gerrymandered) School District No. 550-BTG, I want to say that correcting Religious Imbalance in Neighborhoods, a Federal function, by means of forced Congregation-Exchanges between churches, synagogues and mosques (they're tax-exempt, aren't they?) is not only Separation of Church and State in its purest form, but is consistent with existing solutions advocated to correct Racial Imbalance in Schools. As everybody knows, a non-Moslem child who feels unwanted in a mosque may develop a sense of inferiority from which he may never recover!"

The Bipartisan Finks

The fuss over the Rat Finks bears comment. Herewith a preliminary glossary of terms. The "Syndicate" is the group, if such it can be called, which is presently predominant in Young Republican National Federation affairs (see above). It is fair, though not fastidious, to say that it represents the conservative wing of the party, while the so-called Gangbusters represent the Liberal wing. All of it is confusing inasmuch as the Gangbusters, at the last national meeting in Miami, teamed up with the California Birchers—a *mésalliance* which was to be duplicated in New Jersey a month later when the two junior groups battled for control. On the right, the Rat Finks. On the left, the Exterminators—once again, in curious league with the New Jersey Birchers.

The gangland terminology is in a sense appropriate, because intramural quarrels between political factions are, roughly, conducted according to the rules of Al Capone. Both sides play it, only it always comes rather more as a shock when the right wing engages in that kind of thing than it does when the Liberal wing engages in it. During the spring of 1964, as an example, Governor Scranton and Governor Rockefeller did more sheer name-calling directed at Goldwater and his supporters than the other way around, and for their immoderation, they were

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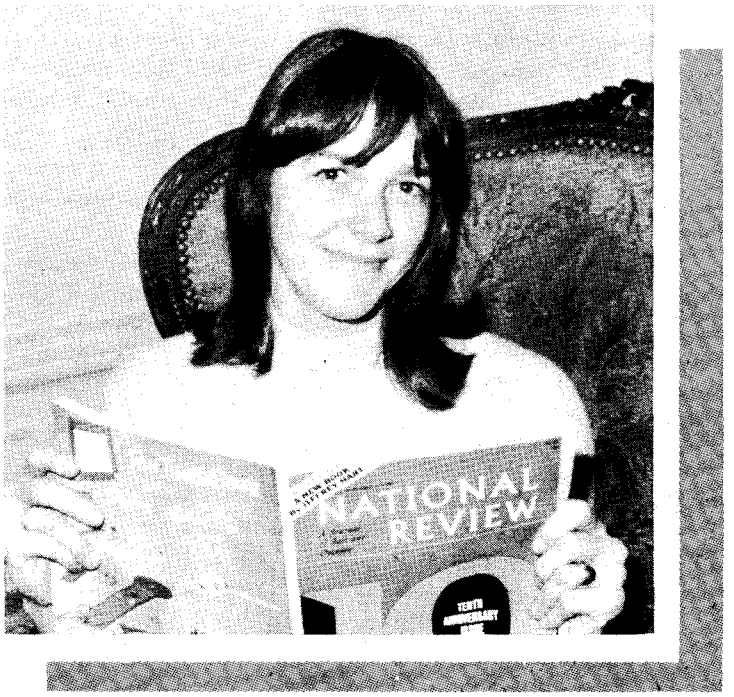
Here is a snapshot of one of our newest subscribers*



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* Mrs. Jock McNeill, 161 East 81st Street, New York City. Mrs. McNeill is reading a copy of NR's big 10th Anniversary issue. If you missed it, you can still get a copy by sending $1.00 to Dept. R, **National Review,** 150 East 35th Street, NYC 10016.

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roundly praised in the Establishment journals. In the course of a summer's fortnight in 1964, George Meany of the labor unions, Emanuel Celler of the Judiciary Committee of the House, and Martin Luther King of the civil rights movement, drew comparisons between Senator Goldwater and Adolf Hitler, and were roundly repudiated for doing so by, roughly speaking, nobody.

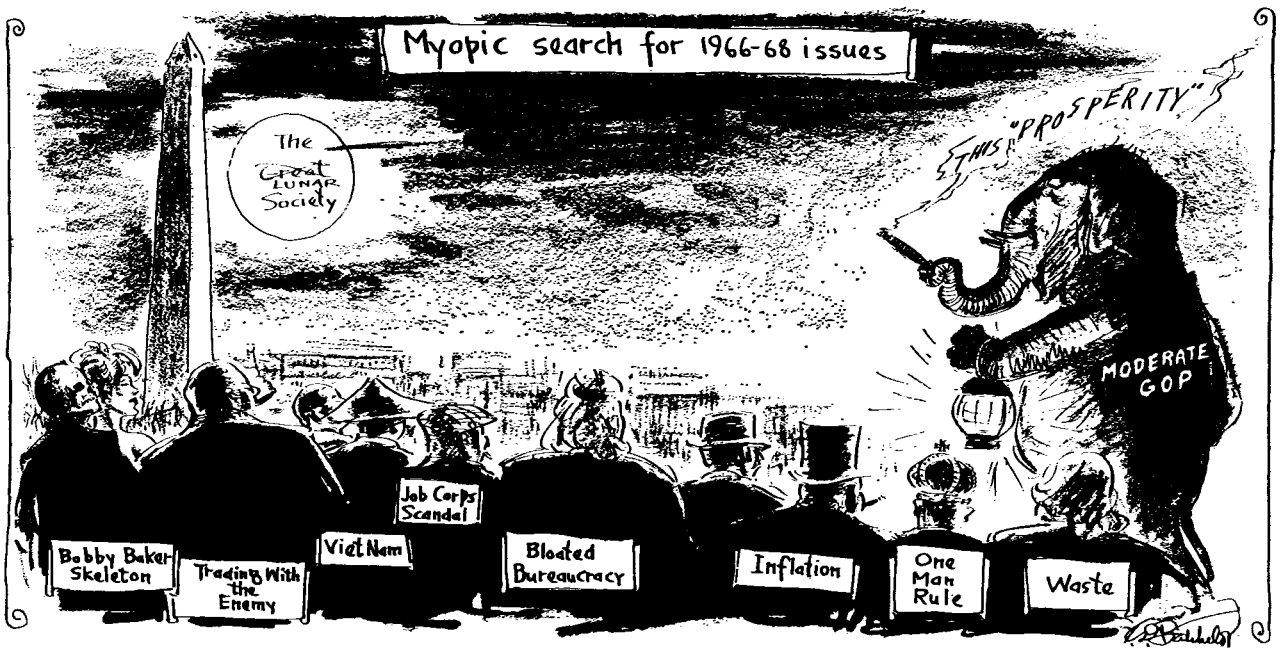
Now political intemperance is of two orders, one serious, one jocular. It can be highly unsettling when the orders are confused; and in any case, it is dangerous to be non-seriously invidious because one's critics can turn off their sense of humor in a flash, if there is an ounce of political hay to be got from doing so. A third order is sick humor, for which, in our judgment, there simply isn't any excuse, although it is fatuous to suppose that sick humor is necessarily malevolent.

Somebody wrote a sick verse, the so-called Nazi Jingle Bells song, whose tastelessness is, pure and simple, indefensible. Somebody mimeographed that jingle and appended it, as page 7, to a six-page sheaf of Rat Fink songs, some of them amusing, others not, but none of them racist—and presented the whole lot as the standing repertory of the Rat Finks. All hell broke loose, and Republicans all over the nation clamor for the heads of the New Jersey Rat Finks, most specifically that of their leader, a young lawyer named Richard Plechner, who was defeated for re-election as Young Republican State Chairman last spring.

Plechner vows that the Nazi jingle song was never sung at any meeting at which he or any member of his cadre was present. And, indisputably, the six-page songbook exists—without the damaging seventh page. Plechner himself is partly Jewish; while a student at Rutgers University he deplored racial discrimination in the fraternity system; a year ago he alienated the Birch community by denouncing a Birch-affiliated Republican who praised Governor Wallace of Alabama after the Selma affair. No one has yet to come forward with a single statement clearly tracing to Plechner, which remotely suggests a racist position. His critics have charged that there are few Jewish members of the Rat Finks. He replies that there are Jewish members in general proportion to Jewish sympathy with conservative Republicanism in his part of New Jersey. To the reply that there are no Negro members, he gives the same answer. And the uproar goes on, with a hearing scheduled imminently which will be conducted by the Liberal Republicans who accused Plechner in the first instance—rather a tough tribunal, particularly for a lawyer bred in the doctrine that accusers should not serve as judges.

There are two interesting questions. The first is, does the Nazi jingle song actually represent an undercurrent of racism among conservative New Jersey Republicans? The answer to that is incontestably: No, it does not. The most thoughtful analysis of the entire song book, including the fugitive seventh page, was done by the Sentinel Chain of newspapers. "The spirit of the song book," the editorial writer analyzed, "was one deriding the tendency to link all conservative positions with those held by less appealing segments of the right wing. In this context, the Nazi jingle bell song, if it was sung, was not anti-semitic but anti-Nazi."

(Sample—deriding those who believe that fluoridation is a Communist plot, and sung to the tune of "Aura Lee"—"Don't put fluoride in our stream/Don't poison all our seas/It's a Communist plot, you see/To get us Orally./O-rally, O-rally . . . .")



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The second point is: shouldn't Republicans recognize that the urge remains very great among Liberals to identify conservatism with racism? It is, as urges go, positively primeval. Conservatism has flourished for a dozen years without any linkage to racism of any sort. Under the circumstances, a more effective response by the GOP might be—having found and dusted off the insensate who actually composed that dumb and tasteless jingle—to have shot back that the critics should mind their own polemical manners and stop front-paging a random piece of political coarseness. The Democrats thunder from their unenviable position as co-hosts, in the Democratic Party, to the explicit racism of a number of high-ranking Southerners who do not couch their racism in trochaic trimeter. And if the argument gets a little more personal, the Republicans might add that, for two cents, the GOP will prepare a list of august Democratic dignitaries who, in their youth as Ypsils, used to sing gleefully, to the tune of "Tramp Tramp Tramp," "Oh, we'll get a hunk of rope/And we'll hang the bloody Pope/And we'll burn the Sistine Chapel to the ground./Then we'll get a bunch of guns/And we'll shoot up all the nuns/And rape the few that still are left around/CHORUS: Vote, vote, vote for socialism, . . ."

Footnote on Wilson

From Colm Brogan in London: From the start Harold Wilson has been most anxious to maintain a show of national unity over his conduct of the Rhodesian affair. If the Tories were not committed to the Wilson policy, then the rebellious Rhodesians would be encouraged to hang on in hopes of a change of government in the fairly near future.

To support this posture of unity he composed a letter of congratulation to Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the legal Governor of Rhodesia who has been treated in much the same way that De Valera treated the Governor General of the Irish Free State. He invited Ted Heath, leader of the Tories, and Jo Grimond, leader of the Liberals, to add their names to his. Heath took it for granted that the three signatures would be all, each man signing for his own party.

He was wrong. Clever little Harold had yet another trick up his sleeve. He knew that 150 Labor MPs were all lined up to add their names. They signed on a Friday, which is a common day for odds and ends, when most MPs have gone back to their own homes or their constituencies. The result was that only a handful of Tory MPs were on the spot to sign.

Discounting the personal shabbiness of this maneuver, what are we to think of the judgment of a man whose first necessity is to maintain a show of national unity and who deliberately casts doubt on that unity for the sake of scoring a cheap party point? This story was not told by an enemy but by an admirer, Norah Beloff of the *Observer,* who found the episode an amusing example of the "Puckish" side of Wilson's character.

Since the Rhodesian affair blew up, Wilson has been privately talking of "my Cuba," seeing himself as John Fitzgerald Wilson staring down the blustering Ian Smith with calm but steely resolution. Now he is also seeing himself as Abraham Lincoln Wilson. He has told at least two journalists that with malice towards none he will bind up the nation's wounds.

Marx said that history repeats itself, first as tragedy and then as farce. Wilson has managed to reverse the process by starting off with the farce.

Zambia, Rhodesia's northern neighbor, is in an impossible situation. Most of its business is owned by Rhodesians, its railway and power are totally dependent on Rhodesia and well over a hundred thousand Zambians make their living in Rhodesia. Kaunda, the unfortunate President of Zambia, stationed troops on his own side of the Zambesi to safeguard the supply of power from the Kariba Dam. These cheerful warriors dug in with such enthusiasm that they cut the cable and shut off the supply they were sent to guard. They then decamped.

To strengthen Kaunda's right arm, Arthur Bottomley, Wilson's Commonwealth Secretary, flew in and swore repeatedly, like Mrs. Micawber, that he would never desert Zambia, but as often as not he said "Gambia" instead of "Zambia," which led the natives to suspect that his grasp of the situation was perhaps a trifle infirm. He hardly improved matters by referring to the natives as "noble creatures." One native said, "He just stopped short of calling us noble savages."

By what he thought was a brilliant legal maneuver, Wilson impounded the Rhodesian reserve held in London. But as Smith had anticipated this move, he had been quietly withdrawing money from London and there was only nine million pounds left to impound. In retaliation, Smith stopped all payments due to Britain which came to more than twenty million pounds. To this must be added Wilson's stopping of pensions, some of them war disablement pensions, to British residents in Rhodesia, which Smith immediately stepped in to pay, and the Keystone comedy of the radio transmitter put up in Bechuanaland on the wrong site which the government doesn't even own.

But if the farce comes first, even semi-effective sanctions will bring tragedy to the black Africans, many of whom may be faced with starvation. The *New Statesman* published an article on the effect of sanctions without a single mention of the black Africans. So much for the humanity of the Friends of Man.

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On the Right

Catholic Chaos

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

The Vatican Council, celebrated not only by most Catholics but by most non-Catholics, has released great energies, some of them useful, some not.

Buckley

There is a most appalling amount of residual disorder, much of it of course to be expected, as the Catholic laity, stretching its limbs, learns by experience what are the dimensions of the new freedom. But meanwhile the chaos is not merely distracting but, for many Catholics, highly disconcerting; and those who have believed that such confusions as presently prevail can come rapidly to an end by a mere flicker of papal displeasure, cannot believe their eyes.

It has been over a week now since the papal nuncio, who directly represents Pope Paul VI in the United States, explicitly condemned the tactics being used by the strikers against St. John's University in Brooklyn: but the strikers have not gone away, and indeed to judge from the most recent issue of *Commonweal* Magazine, principal spokesman for the Liberal Catholics, have no intention of doing so until such time as the administration of St. John's is broken.

Commonweal's Mr. John Leo, a Liberal Catholic of considerable influence and talent, goes so far as to accept equanimously the possibility that St. John's will finally sell its facilities to the State of New York—that would teach, oh boy, the Vincentians to defy the demands of the striking teachers! That would certainly teach those who have wondered whether the strikers and their supporters care more for the survival of Catholic education than they do for their secularist-materialist-intellectualist demands having to do with the exact authority of the striking teachers, the precise salaries owing to faculty members, and the definable limits of academic freedom in a Catholic institution. It must strike the non-Catholic community as unusual, to say the least, the extent to which the strikers and their supporters appear to be indifferent to the spiritual dimension of the problem; and, no doubt, there are those who believe that the gradual secularization of Christian concern is vividly revealed in the St. John's controversy.

Then there is the persistently front-page news involving the Reverend Gommar A. DePauw, who has squatted down in New York with the announced intention of resuming his activities as head of the Catholic Traditionalist Movement. His aims, as stated a year ago, are to protest what he deems an unwarranted exaggeration of the mandate of the Vatican Council, specifically on the matter of the liturgy. When he first announced his movement, Fr. DePauw was unceremoniously silenced by the Cardinal of Baltimore, Lawrence Shehan, who at the time had undisputed authority to determine how Father DePauw would spend his leisure hours.

Excardinated

But then, in the succeeding months, Fr. DePauw appears to have contrived to have got himself excardinated, as they put it in Church circles, out of the jurisdiction of Cardinal Shehan, into a roving jurisdiction of another bishop, who contends that Fr. DePauw is perfectly well entitled to settle down in New York, wherefrom to propagate his traditionalism. To the amazement of most Catholics, Cardinal Shehan proceeded to strip Fr. DePauw of his right to perform his priestly offices; which offices Fr. DePauw nevertheless proceeds to perform, in the presence of front-page reporters for the New York press; and, like the St. John's affair, no one quite seems to know what is left of Catholic authority, and who is exercising it.

And, in interesting contrast to Fr. DePauw's declaration of independence, and the apparent oppressiveness of Cardinal Shehan, is the episode of a month ago, when Cardinal Spellman of New York was reputed to have been responsible for shipping a Jesuit priest, Fr. Berrigan, off to South America, to prevent him from making any more pacifist anti-Vietnam speeches. On that occasion, the Liberal Catholic intellectual community, in company with a few signers not so Liberal, and a few not so Catholic, strutted a few front-page ads of resentment at the alleged interference with Fr. Berrigan's freedom, a freedom which they have not hastened to defend when exercised by Fr. DePauw, in defense of traditionalism, rather than of pacifism.

Divorce in New York

Meanwhile, a New York Catholic lawyer is soliciting signatures from prominent Catholics to support a revision of the divorce laws of New York, which are concededly antiquated and which unquestionably encourage hypocrisy and perjury. But the lawyer's manifesto is full of Liberal-egalitarian jargon which is being passed around these days as though it had been especially blessed by the Vatican Council.

The lawyer's manifesto seems to suggest that Catholics ought above all to be concerned with "animosities" against Catholics that derive from tough divorce laws, and that the salient injustice of a state's tough divorce laws is the relative advantage of the rich man over the poor man, in traveling to Reno, or to Mexico.

The whole thing certainly underlines the desirability of an American journal of conservative Catholic opinion, which Mr. Brent Bozell, formerly an Editor of National Review, is attempting to launch. It does not require that one be a political conservative to bemoan the inordinate public leverage on Catholic affairs now being exercised by the Liberal-intellectual press.

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The Third World War

General Gavin's Trilemma

JAMES BURNHAM

The newspaper presentation of General James M. Gavin's letter to *Harper's* Magazine (Feb., 1966) gave a distorted idea of its content. Actually, the newspapers accepted the editors' summary: "General Gavin presents the first basic criticism of the Administration's policy in Vietnam by a major military figure. As an alternative, he urges the stopping of our bombing of North Vietnam, a halt in the escalation of the ground war, withdrawal of American troops in defend the limited number of enclaves along the South Vietnam coast, and renewed efforts 'to find a solution through the United Nations or a conference in Geneva.'"

Burnham

This obscures Gen. Gavin's more formidable contention; and Gen. Gavin found it necessary to issue a clarification in "a hastily called press conference." He insisted that he "did not suggest we withdraw to the [coastal] enclaves," but merely pointed out that "we have the forces to hold enclaves in South Vietnam, that here we are, and here are the alternatives, and we must make up our minds what to do next." Whether this was indeed the limit of his intended meaning or whether he was himself retreating before the concentrated fire of Secretary McNamara, Gen. Maxwell Taylor and "all senior Pentagon officers," the discussion ought to take off from this revised version. And discussion there certainly ought to be, for Gen. Gavin's strategic estimate is the most serious that has been publicly offered. It is not enough to dismiss the enclave suggestion scornfully, as the anonymous Pentagon spokesmen have done, by calling it a "no lose policy" transitional to complete withdrawal and (in Gen. Taylor's words) "a crushing defeat of international proportions." This characterization seems to me true, but does nothing to meet the challenge of the estimate: to find a way through the horns of Gen. Gavin's trilemma.

As Gen. Gavin analyzes the Vietnamese situation, there are three strategic alternatives, and three only: 1) We can recognize that we are in reality fighting China. In this case, we are "in the wrong place on terms entirely to [China's] advantage. Manchuria . . . is the Ruhr of China and the heart of its war-making capacity. There, rather than in Southeast Asia, is where China should be engaged, if at all." 2) We can try "to secure all of South Vietnam." If that is our objective, "then forces should be deployed on the 17th parallel and along the Cambodian border adequate to do this. In view of the nature of the terrain, it might be necessary to extend our defenses on the 17th parallel to the Mekong River, and across part of Thailand. Such a course would take many times as much force as we now have in Vietnam. . . . We should anticipate the intervention of Chinese 'volunteers' and the reopening of the Korean front." Gen. Gavin adds: "This seems to be the ultimate prospect of the course that we are now on. . . . [Such] straightforward escalation of our land power in Southeast Asia to meet every land-based challenge, while at the same time we leave China and Cambodia free from attack, poses some very forbidding prospects." 3) We can "maintain enclaves on the coast, desist in our bombing attacks in North Vietnam, and seek to find a solution through the UN or a conference. . . . We could very likely do so with the forces now available."

Let us grant that the criticisms made of Gen. Gavin's rather optimistic assessment of his third alternative are justified. What better, then, can be said for the two other alternatives of the Gavin trilemma? Or are there further alternatives he has not seen, or not listed? If so, what are they? These are questions that we have a right to put to his official critics.

Does the Pentagon disagree with Gen. Gavin's statement that successful pursuit of the present course "would take many times as much force as we now have in Vietnam?" If so, what is the evidence that less force can do it? If not, are the administration and country prepared to accept the consequences of expanding the force "many times"? Does the Pentagon regard the alternative of carrying the war to China as preferable? If the Administration will *neither* accept the multiple force expansion *nor* carry the war to China, then how can it escape the third—enclave—alternative, followed by the withdrawal and the "crushing defeat"?

Or let the Pentagon spokesmen define a fourth alternative, if it exists. I am inclined to believe that, if there is a fourth alternative, it must include a fairly radical jump: use of a novel weapons systems (nuclear, biological, chemical, or psycho-political), or a sudden shift into a new strategic or political dimension; it must, in short, embody the classic strategic principle of *surprise*. The Southeast Asian war as it has been developing exhibits a number of tactical novelties, but (on our side) has been conventional, almost humdrum, in a strategic and political sense. Our next moves have invariably been within the enemy *range* of prediction and planning. He can carry on even if we proceed to destroy his power plants and oil, but he could not get along without food. What if one day we occupied Hanoi, instead of another South Vietnam village? Or if Free Chinese troops set up shop on Hainan? China's nuclear installations are a grim threat, but they are also a patent vulnerability—a hostage, an easy blackmail victim. What if it became quite clear to Peking that those installations would disappear unless the war in Vietnam were brought to a quick end? Or if Moscow realized she would confront an all-out psycho-political offensive exploiting anti-Russian nationalism? Our professional strategists can surely produce more and no doubt better variants of a Fourth Dimensional alternative. If they cannot, it looks as if we are indeed fenced inside the horns of Gen. Gavin's painful trilemma.

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HUAC vs. KKK

Operation Contempt

TERRY CATCHPOLE

Act II of the House Committee on Un-American Activities' investigation of the Ku Klux Klan got under way in early January and promises to continue for several months. The stars were disappointing compared to those who had enlivened the hearings last October, but one bright moment was provided by John D. Swenson, self-acclaimed "father of the modern-day Klan in Louisiana," who, before invoking the Fifth and other constitutional amendments, revealed that he had burned all of the Klan records the House Committee had ordered him to bring to Washington "so they wouldn't fall into the hands of the enemy."

"Who is the enemy?" inquired Chairman Edwin Willis (D., La.). "The Communists," replied Swenson, looking straight at a subcommittee of four conservatives and one Liberal. For unconscious irony the reply compared with the Imperial Wizard's own statement to the press last fall that he would not answer the Committee's questions because he refused to give in to "harassment, intimidation and coercion—the handmaidens of Communism — regardless of the power source from which it [*sic*] spews." No one asked Robert Shelton if he was now going to join the forces seeking abolition of HUAC.

It was strict non-cooperation all the way, as a parade of the Klan employees, including Shelton's wife and a couple of Grand Dragons, marched to the stand in the Caucus Room of the Old House Office Building and carefully emulated their Leader's ungiving style. Shelton had been the lead-off witness of the first session. Head of the nation's largest Klan organization, the United Klans of America, Inc., he had assured HUAC investigators in Alabama that he would never take the Fifth and thus associate himself with those who had done so in the past. However, in the light of the committee room he saw fit to refer time and again to a typed statement, which said that he "respectfully" declined to answer, and invoked "Amendments Five, Four, Fourteen and One of the Constitution of the United States of America." He would neither acknowledge copies of the Klan's incorporation paper, charter and constitution, nor say whether or not he was indeed the Imperial Wizard. Commented Willis: "Sir, I take by your replies that you consider your loyalty to the Klan to be above your loyalty to the United States." Shelton, a nervous, redneck Trevor Howard confronting his German captors, read his typed reply.

Shelton's testimony lasted two days. He read his reply 158 times. On the fourth day of the hearings the Committee was taken aback by its first friendly witness. This was Joseph G. DuBois, subpenaed as Klabee (treasurer) of the North Carolina Klan. Before a question could be asked, he announced: "I have come up here to speak the truth. . . . At this time, I would like to resign as a Klan member." A moment later, DuBois, a Marine veteran of Guadalcanal, rose before the gaping spectators and pointed a finger at a Klansman sitting on the first-row witness bench. "This man," he said, "told me he was going to do away with me if I said anything here." (The accused man later took the Fifth.)

Next came a Faulkner character named Roy Woodle, an itinerant Baptist preacher from the backwoods of North Carolina. Grand Kludd Woodle brought all of his oratorical wit to the microphone. Even newsmen were charmed. Woodle related how he had been threatened by a fellow Klansman. Asked whether such threats included "bodily harm," he answered: "I don't know if you call it bodily harm or not, but he said he had the authority to do away with me."

That the fear of being "done away with" does exist among Klansmen as well as among their victims, was among the first solid bits of information which emerged from the first week of testimony. Later testimony probed alleged murders and acts of terrorism. Another considerably less significant revelation concerned the Klan's handling of its funds.

HUAC alleged that Imperial Wizard Shelton had violated a Klan ruling that all checks in the organization's name be co-signed by the Wizard and the Klabee only. A professional handwriting expert testified that several Klan checks had in fact been co-signed by Shelton's wife and a secretary, using fictitious names which Shelton had told Klan members were the names of the treasurer. High-priced satin-hooded robes, phony insurance programs, and incomplete financial reports were some of the lucrative activities engaged in by top Klansmen, many of whom, poorly educated, held low-paying jobs before becoming members. Roy Woodle quit the Klan, he said, when he discovered that his leaders were using funds for "rib-eye steaks, Cadillacs and first-class hotels" instead of for the fight against integration.

HUAC's own stake in the hearings is evident. By exposing the dark recesses of the Klan's operations, it will have provided, in one member's words, "an effective remedy." As with the Communist Party, HUAC's No. 1 antagonist, exposure is the enemy. Sensing this, most commentators have shown guarded sympathy for the Committee's investigation, lest they spring the trap of logic.

But the primary function of every congressional committee is to propose legislation. At the end of the first week of hearings in January, Rep. Willis was already speculating on the passage of a law to prohibit banding together to deprive others of their rights. As a possible guideline he suggested the "landmark decision" of a U.S. District Court which forbade 32 men in Bogalusa, La., to interfere with the right of Negroes to demonstrate and register to vote.

There can be no doubt that HUAC is giving the Klan a hard time. Its special subcommittee cited Mr. Wizard and six of his silent witnesses in contempt of Congress; last week the citations were approved by a House vote of 344 to 28, which means that the seven now face the prospect of a grand jury trial in U.S. District Court. It means also that one "Why don't they?" has been taken away from the anti-HUAC forces.

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Politics—1966

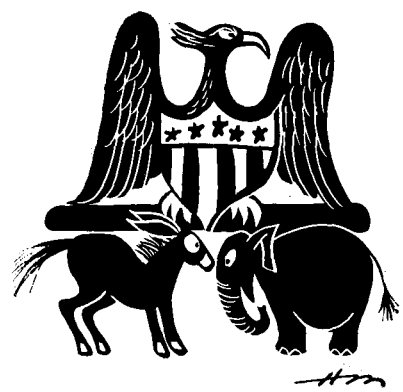
An expert political analysis calling the shots on every race for statehouse or Congress in 1966 — which he who runs must read

EDWARD J. BELL

What follows is an outline of political conditions, personalities, and prospects in each of the fifty states with regard to the 1966 elections for the House of Representatives, the Senate, and the governorships. My information has come from any number of sources — newspapers, magazines, election records, interviews with party professionals at the state and national levels. Unavoidably there will be errors or exaggerations here, particularly with regard to individual intentions; but it should be mentioned that individual intentions, in politics above all, are among the most mysterious if not unknowable of things. For reasons of space I have left much unsaid, and doubtless some of what is true as I write it will be obsolete by the time it has reached print. One thing I do not apologize for is my belief that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, conservatives can make political progress only through a judicious use of and respect for the American two-party system, and that in nine cases out of ten the interest of intelligent conservatism coincides with that of the Republican Party.

► *Alabama.* With George Wallace legally disqualified for re-election, the Democratic gubernatorial primary has become one of the hottest items in the South. Already in the race are former Governor Jim Folsom, Attorney General Richmond Flowers, former Congressman Carl Elliott, and former State Senator Ryan de Graffenreid — all Liberals — and former Governor John Patterson, a hard-line segregationist. Yet to enter the melee is a candidate bearing Wallace's own backing. Possibilities for the Wallace nod include Lieutenant Governor James Allen and Wallace's wife Lurleen—provided she is able to recover sufficiently from a recent cancer operation. For the time being, the primary is anybody's ball game. The probable Republican candidate is freshman Congressman James Martin, a narrow loser statewide in 1962. His presence at the top of the ticket will help the Republicans in their efforts to keep the extensive House gains (five seats) they made in Barry Goldwater's statewide sweep. They are currently expected to hold at least three. Wallace is expected to enter the race for John Sparkman's Senate seat, in disregard of an Alabama statute prohibiting Senate bids by an incumbent Governor. If Wallace faces Sparkman, he will probably beat him and win the seat over whatever opposition the Republicans muster.

► *Alaska.* Three Democratic incumbents—Governor William Egan, Senator Bob Bartlett, and Representative Ralph Rivers—are heavily favored for re-election in this strongly Democratic state, though there is some doubt whether Egan is legally qualified to run again.



► *Arizona.* Republicans have a chance to upset Democratic Governor Sam Goddard and Representative George Senner—particularly the latter, who has been tarred with the brush of scandal. Sam Steiger, a hardy but unsuccessful challenger of Senner in 1964, may run again.

► *Arkansas.* As in Alabama, all estimates are dependent on the intentions of the state's Democratic governor. If Liberal segregationist Orval Faubus runs for his seventh two-year term, he will again run smack into the well-fixed Mr. Winthrop Rockefeller, a conservative integrationist. Faubus may prefer to run for the Senate (where he would be favored to beat conservative John McClellan—and split his party in the process) or even the House of Representatives. If Faubus does either, Winthrop Rockefeller would have a better-than-even chance of becoming the South's first Republican governor. A strong GOP effort could also topple Liberal Democrat James Trimble from the newly reapportioned Third Congressional District, where both Goldwater and Rockefeller made their strongest showings in 1964.

► *California.* The big news, certainly for the state and probably the nation, is the race for governor. The Republican primary boils down to a two-man affair: conservative Ronald Reagan against San Francisco's Liberal former Mayor George Christopher. Reagan is presently regarded as the favorite. On the Democratic side, if Los Angeles Mayor Samuel Yorty, a moderate conservative, decides to run in the primary. Governor Brown will probably emerge—scathed. Betting on the putative-Reagan-Brown finals is 6-5 pick-'em. The Democratic-gerrymandered House delegation is now divided 23-15, in favor of guess who. The prospect for this year is that three Democratic seats—those of Congressmen James C. Corman (22nd), Kenneth Dyal (33rd), and John V. Tunney (38th)—will be vulnerable to Republican subversion; especially if Tunney, the popular son of the ex-heavyweight champion, enters the primary for lieutenant governor, thereby clearing the way for a comeback by former GOP Congressman Minor Martin. All fifteen Republican incumbents now look safe.

► *Colorado.* Here a Democratic tide has been at the flood since 1962, and it is expected to threaten (but not

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engulf) GOP Senator Gordon Allott, a moderate conservative. In more serious trouble is Republican Governor John Love, a favorite of the Ripon Society-GOP governors crowd. In the last election the Democrats gained two House seats (giving them all four). Ousted Republican conservatives J. Edgar Chenoweth and D. G. Brotzman are rumored to be thinking of comebacks. Chenoweth ran the stronger 1964 campaign, but Brotzman has a more firmly Republican district and may be helped if freshman Democrat Roy McVicker seeks higher office. Either or both could return to the House—with luck.

► *Connecticut.* Democratic Governor John Dempsey is the most popular politician in an all-Democratic (in terms of major officeholders) state, and at this time looks like a cinch for four more years. The only chance for a Republican gain may be the Third House District, where Liberal Republican Abner Sibal, narrowly defeated for re-election in 1964, is expected to attempt a comeback against Representative Donald Irwin. Irwin's best chance is a Dempsey landslide which would draw him along with Connecticut's archaic straight-ticket voting lever.

► *Delaware.* Liberal GOP Senator Caleb Boggs will be favored for re-election—unless Democratic Congressman at Large Harris McDowell challenges him. In that event, both the House and Senate races will be even money in this traditionally 50-50 state.

► *Florida.* All House seats, ten Democratic and two Republican, are safe in a state where the GOP is mainly a regional affair—unless, of course, one of the Republicans steps aside to run for the statehouse. Democratic Governor Haydon Burns, a middle-of-the-roader elected to an interim two-year term in 1964, will again face Liberal opposition in the Democratic primary this May from Miami Mayor Robert King High, his chief opponent in 1964.

► *Georgia.* The big election, if it develops, will be the September 14 primary between Senator Richard Russell and outgoing Liberal Governor Carl Sanders. Russell is favored. The GOP will field a strong candidate—possibly freshman Congressman Bo Callaway—only if Sanders wins. The Republicans have a number of opportunities for House gains, including districts where they did not field a candidate in 1964. For example, Goldwater won between 55 and 60 per cent of the vote in the districts of Congressmen J. Russell Tuten and James Stephens, both moderate Liberals and both unopposed in '64. The Democratic gubernatorial primary, as usual, is wide open, with former Governors Ernest Vandiver (a moderate conservative), and Ellis Arnall (a wartime Liberal governor who has already declared) heading the list. On the GOP side, the dynamic Mr. Callaway is a strong possibility no matter who wins the Democratic nomination.

► *Hawaii.* Democratic Governor John Burns is favored for re-election in Harry Bridges' state, but he will not be a shoo-in if Liberal GOP Mayor Neal Blaisdell of Honolulu challenges him. Also insecure is one of the two Democratic Representatives at Large, Patsy Mink, whose voting record in her first term even Harry can be proud of.

► *Idaho.* Conservative GOP Senator Len Jordan looks like a winner for his first full term, but Republican Governor Robert Smylie, the nation's chief repository of Liberal Republican *Realpolitik,* is believed weaker now than when he won his third term in 1962. Each party has one House seat. Massive redistricting has taken pro-Goldwater Boise from freshman conservative George Hansen and given it to Liberal Democrat Compton White. The upshot is that White's district now has a more Republican complexion than Hansen's, and both men face tough fights for re-election. White's narrowly defeated 1964 opponent, John Mattmiller, may run again this year.

► *Illinois.* The Senate race could be one of the two or three most important in the land, now that Liberal Republican Chuck Percy is definitely in the race and assured of broad party backing. Senator Paul Douglas is favored to win over Percy, but because of his advancing years he is no longer considered unbeatable. The House delegation is 13-11 Democratic. The Republicans, all of them more or less conservative, look like sure winners with the conceivable exception of Congressman William Springer. Freshman Democrat Gale Schisler, on the other hand, will have to work hard to hold his normally Republican 19th District. One other noticeable soft spot is the marginal 23rd District of Representative George Shipley, a middle-roading Democrat.

► *Indiana.* The perpetually feuding state GOP has been dealt one haymaker after another in the last several elections. Once utterly sovereign, it has not elected a candidate for major statewide office since 1956, when Homer Capehart was re-elected for the last time. This year, things look even worse: as a result of a lovingly executed Democratic gerrymander, two of the state's five remaining GOP Congressmen, conservatives Richard Roudebush and Ralph Harvey, will most likely fight it out in the May 3 primary: if former Congressman Donald Bruce, who retired to run for the last Senate nomination, wants to make a comeback, he will have to do so at the expense of Congressman William Bray, a moderate conservative: if Earl Wilson decides to reclaim his old seat, he will be a definite underdog against freshman Democrat Lee Hamilton, a popular former basketball hero. At this writing, the more optimistic Indiana Republicans are hoping to hold the net GOP loss to one seat.

► *Iowa.* On November 2, 1964, six of the state's seven House districts were Republican; the next day, six of seven were Democratic. This was the congressional Republicans' chief disaster area of 1964. Chances for an upturn in 1966 are marred, once again, by the presence of Democratic Governor Harold Hughes at the top of his party's ticket (in the last election, Hughes ran *ten* percentage points ahead of Lyndon Johnson). Also in some difficulty is Republican Senator Jack Miller, a moderate conservative. Miller will have to run well ahead of the GOP gubernatorial line to fend off his likely opponent, State University Professor E. B. Smith, who ran a strong race against Senator Bourke Hickenlooper in 1962. Of the five ousted House Republicans, four were strongly conservative. Wednesday Clubber Fred Schwengel and conservative James Bromwell look like would-be bouncers-back as of now, with John Kyl also a possibility. Ben Jensen, who spent 13 terms in the House before his '64 defeat, will probably not seek a return. The redoubtable H. R. Gross, the most ardently Republican member of the

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House of Representatives and the only Iowa Republican to survive 1964, should win again despite an expected strong Democratic challenge.

► *Kansas.* Two Republicans, Governor William Avery and Senator James Pearson, are favorites for re-election in the nation's only remaining all-GOP state, although Pearson is sweating out a possible primary challenge from Liberal Congressman Robert Ellsworth. The party should also retain all five House seats.

► *Kentucky.* Liberal Republican Senator John Cooper campaigned loyally and strongly for Barry Goldwater, and thus no formidable conservative opposition is expected in the May 24 primary. In that case Cooper will be all but unbeatable unless Democratic Governor Edward Breathitt forsakes the statehouse to challenge him. An important Liberal-conservative primary fight may develop in Louisville, however, if Conservative

Republican Gene Snyder tries to regain the seat he lost in 1964. The city's GOP organization is only Moderately Republican.

► *Louisiana.* Aging Senator Allen Ellender, who has voted moderately conservative in recent years, will face formidable Liberal opposition in the August 13 primary and (in all likelihood) the September 17 runoff. His seat is seriously endangered by a sharp rise in Negro registration. The Republicans are unlikely to make any trouble, even in the event of a Liberal primary victory. Of Louisiana's House seats, all held by Democrats, the only one in apparent danger, oddly, is that of House Majority Whip Hale Boggs, who was held (by Republican David Treen) to 55 per cent of the vote despite a Johnson victory in his New Orleans district. Congressman Speedy Long, a freshman in the marginal Eighth District, has compiled a conservative voting record that should deflect any renewed Republican insurgency.

► *Maine.* Of the two incumbent Liberal Republicans up for statewide re-election, the current prospects are that Senator Margaret Chase Smith cannot lose and Governor John H. ("Weak") Reed cannot win. Even if he survives a primary challenge from conservatives, Reed will probably be chewed up by almost any Democrat in November. The two House members—one Democrat, one Republican—will most likely stay in office, even though Liberal Republican Congressman Stanley Tupper faces conservative opposition in the June 20 primary from State Representative George Kittredge.

► *Maryland.* Incumbent Democratic Governor Millard Tawes, a party "regular," cannot succeed himself. A prominent contender for the Democratic nomination is Representative at Large Carlton Sickles, the candidate of the Left-Liberal faction headed by freshman Democratic Senator Joseph Tydings. His "regular" opponent in the mid-September primary will probably be Attorney General Thomas Finan. Front-runner for the Republican nod is Ted Agnew, a 1964 Scranton man who is head of the Baltimore County Council. Redistricting has clouded the House situation. Representative Charles McC. Mathias, a popular Liberal Republican, has the choice of running in either the strongly Republican Sixth or the Eighth, which includes more of his county. At this time Mathias is expected to choose the Eighth. If he does, the Republicans are favored to carry both districts and thereby increase their representation from two to three of the state's eight House seats. Front-runner for the GOP designation in the Sixth District is House of Delegates Minority Leader Glenn Beall Jr., moderately conservative son of the Liberal Republican Senator who was defeated for re-election in 1964. First District GOP Congressman Rogers Morton, also a moderate conservative, is favored for re-election even though his district now has a more Democratic complexion.

► *Massachusetts.* The state's governorship will carry with it a four-year term for the first time. The incumbent Republican, John Volpe, is presently favored over his probable Democratic opponent, former Attorney General Edward McCormack (Speaker John's nephew and Teddy Kennedy's 1962 punching bag). McCormack will carry into battle the scars of his party's inevitably wild-and-woolly primary fight in late September. Among his party rivals is Kenneth O'Donnell, a former Kennedy aide who will not receive open support from Senator Ted. Senator Leverett Saltonstall, a venerable Republican Liberal, has announced he will not seek re-election. The GOP nomination to succeed him will almost certainly go to popular Attorney General Edward Brooke. Brooke, a Liberal, is an early-line favorite over Boston's Democratic Mayor John Collins; if he wins, he will become the first Negro since Reconstruction to sit in the Senate. The state's twelve House seats — 7-5 Democratic — are utterly immovable, in either direction.

► *Michigan.* This governorship will also be worth four years for the first time, and there is a good chance that Governor Romney will soon dispel rumors of a Senate bid by announcing for re-election. Barring catastrophes, he is a sure winner. If Democratic Senator Pat McNamara runs for re-election, he will very likely be challenged in the primary by Detroit's popular young Mayor Jerome Cavanagh. If McNamara retires, the Senate race will most likely pit Cavanagh against Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Soapy Williams, a one-time governor who is aching to get out of the bush and back into Michigan politics. If the Senate vacancy does not arise, Williams may even run against Romney in order to boost the rest of the Democratic ticket. Such a move could help hold the Democrats' 12-7 House edge (before 1964, it was 11-8 Republican). Of three staunchly conservative Republicans ousted in the Johnson sweep, only George Meader (Second District) seems likely to try a comeback, although Victor Knox (11th District) is also a possibility. A strong state GOP effort could give the Republicans as much as a four-seat gain, but it should be remem-

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bered that in past elections George Romney's Liberal strength has given little or no help to the rest of the party ticket.

► *Minnesota.* Republicans are joyous over an administration scandal that has all but killed Democratic Governor Karl Rolvaag's chances for re-election. The Minneapolis mess may even jeopardize the full-term bid of popular freshman Senator Walter Mondale, provided the Republicans can find a prominent candidate willing to forgo the suddenly inviting gubernatorial primary to stand for the Senate. A sleeper in this category is General Lauris Norstad, the former NATO commander. The House delegation is split 4-4; Democratic Representative Alec Olson (6th District) looks vulnerable, and Robert Odegard, the man who almost ousted Olson in 1964, may try again with more success. On the other hand, conservative Republican Congressman Odin Langen (7th District) is by no means a shoo-in.

► *Mississippi.* The state's strongly conservative Republican Party is talking, openly, of beating Democratic Senator James O. Eastland, also a conservative. It is unlikely that it will do so, though the predominantly (4-1) Democratic House delegation may prove to be a happier hunting ground.

► *Missouri.* No statewide races. All eight Democratic House seats look safe in a state that has seemed intent on returning to its Democratic moorings ever since Adlai Stevenson's surprise victory in 1956. Both Republican Congressmen, conservatives Thomas Curtis and Durward Hall, are favored for re-election.

► *Montana.* The statewide race is for the Senate, and Republican Governor Tim Babcock, a conservative who survived the Johnson sweep, seems ready to challenge the re-election of Liberal Democratic Senator Lee Metcalf. The race could go either way. Of the two House seats, the one that is Democratic seems the more unstable.

► *Nebraska.* Governor Frank Morrison, a Democrat of conservative hue if not substance, may well challenge the re-election bid of Republican Senator Carl Curtis, one of the most courageous of conservative lawmakers. It is figured as Nebraska's Battle of the Century, sure to overshadow a simultaneous gubernatorial race pitting former GOP Governor Val Peterson against Lieutenant Governor Philip Sorensen, Ted's brother. If Morrison runs for re-election he will win. The three House seats—two Republicans, one Democrat—may follow the statewide trend. Republicans are hoping that former Representative Ralph Beermann, who almost overcame the Johnson onslaught in the district with the least Republican complexion, will make a comeback against freshman Democrat Clair Callan.

► *Nevada.* Governor Grant Sawyer, a Democrat, is good for a third term unless Lieutenant Governor Paul Laxalt is his Republican opponent. Laxalt lost, on a recount, after running a dead heat with Democratic Senator Howard Cannon in 1964. Congressman at Large Walter Baring, elected some years ago as a Liberal, has evolved into the only Northern Democrat in the House who votes conservative on domestic issues, and his serious opposition will come not from a Republican but from the state's Liberal Democratic machine in the September 6 primary.

► *New Hampshire.* Governor John King, a middle-roading Democrat, looks good for a third two-year term despite a Granitic tradition against such things. Liberal Democratic Senator Thomas McIntyre, running for his first full term, will be helped by the continuing broils of the once-dominant GOP, which may stage a rerun of the gory 1962 senatorial primary between Liberal Perkins Bass and conservative Mrs. Doloris Bridges. Primary day is September 13. The two House seats are split between the parties. Ex-Congressman Louis Wyman, an outspoken conservative who ran well until he drowned in the Johnson tide, may try a comeback at the expense of freshman Democrat J. Oliva Huot.

► *New Jersey.* Serious conservative primary opposition to Liberal Republican Senator Clifford Case (ADA: 94 per cent) does not appear likely to occur. Case will then be sure of six more years. In the 1964 election, Democrats won four previously Republican House seats. Three were won so narrowly, in such heavily Republican areas, that a purely facts-and-figures estimate would make the GOP a cinch to win them all back in a non-landslide year such as 1966. But the state's Republican Party is utterly impoverished; its candidate for governor in the year gone by spent about $100,000, or roughly 7 per cent of what was spent by the Democrats, who are now the businessman's party here as elsewhere. Former Liberal GOP Congressman Frank Osmers, the only ousted member likely to try for resurrection, is at this writing the only clear favorite to make a Republican gain. The most interesting race for conservatives may turn out to be the southern Second District, where former State Senate President Charles Sandman, a 1964 Goldwater supporter who narrowly lost last year's gubernatorial primary, is expected to challenge freshman Democrat Thomas McGrath. The GOP will also be trying hard for the nearby (and usually Republican) Third District. But this year's reapportionment will be performed by Democrats.

► *New Mexico.* Senator Clinton Anderson, a Truman Democrat, has announced for re-election and is favored over all comers. With Democratic Governor Jack Campbell ineligible to succeed himself, the other state race is wide open. Former GOP Governor and Senator Ed Mechem, who has governed his state off and on (five terms in all) since 1951, is a prominent Republican possibility, and a worthy conservative. Both of New Mexico's House seats are contested at large, both are Democratic, and one of them is vulnerable to Republican challenge—particularly if the challenger is Dr. Jack Redman, a conservative who just missed the last two times.

► *New York.* Six Republican House districts — represented by conserva-

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tives with a single exception—were lost to the Democrats in 1964. Former Congressman Steve Derounian (3rd District) has already decided to challenge freshman Democrat Lester Wolff. John R. Pillion (39th District) is the only other former member who seems to be comeback-minded. He and Derounian have about an even chance of success. Prospects in the other four newly Democratic House seats are more hazy, but local Republicans are buoyed by their strong comeback in the 1965 legislative elections. The Brooklyn seat of second-term Democratic Congressman Hugh Carey—the most pro-Goldwater (47.2 per cent) district in the entire state—is also a potential Republican prize. In any event, the Democrats may keep most of their 1964 gains and threaten one or two GOP seats besides if Governor Nelson Rockefeller runs badly in his expected third-term bid. City Council President Frank O'Connor, a strong Liberal with a sort of clannish appeal to some conservatives, is the front-runner for what still seems a politically attractive Democratic nod despite signs of a Rockefeller comeback.

► *North Carolina.* Democratic Senator Everett Jordan, a GOP target for his befogging role in *l'affaire Bobby Baker,* may be vulnerable to a strong partisan challenge. Some Republicans have pressed Congressman Charles Raper Jonas to run; if he doesn't, Sherman Rock, a congressional nominee last year, may get the nod. In addition, two Liberal Democratic House seats look shaky, including that of House Agriculture Committee Chairman Harold Cooley.

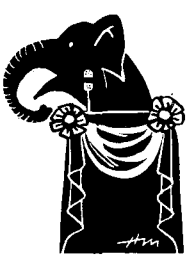
► *North Dakota.* A comeback by former Republican Representative Don Short may be the Republicans' only chance of winning back the Second Congressional District from freshman Democrat Rolland Redlin. The other (Republican) House seat looks safe in a year without statewide races.

► *Ohio.* Reapportionment of the state's House districts has made the prospects somewhat murky. The Republicans' 18-6 House edge was whittled to 14-10 in 1964, and it is debatable how far they can come back. On the plus side, the At Large seat has been abolished by the GOP Legislature and replaced by two new and heavily Republican districts without incumbents. One entrant in the jammed-up 24th District primary may be Donald ("Buz") Lukens, conservative former chairman of the national YRs. His main opponent for the nomination is expected to be popular State Senator Charles Jones. But if the Republicans gain here, they may well lose the seat of one of the most highly regarded young conservatives in Congress: John Ashbrook, who has been districted smack into the torrid path of Representative Robert Secrest, a widely liked middle-roading Democrat who will oppose Ashbrook in a predominantly low-income area. At this time, the race is too close to predict. Three other seats currently in doubt are held by Democrats Rodney Love, John Gilligan and Walter Moeller. Former Representative Homer Abele and State Senator Charles Whalen may challenge Moeller and Love. Former Congressman at Large Robert Taft Jr., a moderate conservative who narrowly lost a Senate bid in 1964, will oppose Gilligan in the First District, which comprises part of the hereditary Taft fiefdom of Cincinnati. He is favored, but not prohibitively. These guesses could be upset—in favor of the Republicans—if GOP Governor James Rhodes, favored for re-election, runs anywhere near as well as he did four years ago. The Democrats, unable to find a name opponent, may wind up choosing one Frazier Reams Jr.

► *Oklahoma.* Governor Henry Bellmon, the state's first Republican chief executive in living memory, cannot succeed himself, and former football coach Bud Wilkinson, a tight loser to Fred Harris in the 1964 Senate race, is the GOP favorite to Hold That Line. Wilkinson, like Bellmon, is conservative. Senator Harris, who in his first session has voted with a Liberal disregard of his conservative campaign oratory, won only an unexpired term, but has no known GOP challenger with Governor Bellmon out of the race. The Republicans have an outside chance to win a long-time Democratic House seat currently held by 26-year-old Jed Johnson, a Liberal. His 1964 opponent, Bayard Auchincloss, ran ahead of both Goldwater and Wilkinson.

► *Oregon.* Liberal GOP Governor Mark Hatfield will seek, and surely find, the seat of outgoing Democratic Senator Maurine Neuberger. The favorite for the Republican nomination to succeed Hatfield is Secretary of State Tom McCall, a Liberal who will also be favored in the general election against any Democrat. The only chance for a House switch would be an extraordinary Republican push in Representative Al Ullman's rural Second District, nearly doubled in population after reapportionment.

► *Pennsylvania.* Like Hatfield, Governor William Scranton cannot seek another term, and like Hatfield is most anxious to preserve his state as a personal political base. But with no other office to seek in 1966, Scranton can perpetuate his influence only by personally nominating and electing his Liberal Republican Lieutenant Governor, Raymond Shafer, as Governor. Former Governor George Leader, Pittsburgh Mayor Joseph Barr, and Assistant HEW Secretary James Quigley are possible Democratic nominees, but hard-working State Senator Robert Casey of Scranton is the front-runner. Two Republican Congressmen—Dr. James Weaver, a moderate conservative, and George Goodling, a strong conservative—were dislodged by the Johnson avalanche. Weaver seems the more likely to try a comeback, but both would have a good chance, given a strong gubernatorial showing by Shafer. Two incumbent Republicans—freshman conservative Robert Watkins and two-term Liberal Joseph McDade—may be vulnerable to strong Democratic drives. The Eighth District of retiring middle-of-the-road Republican Congressman Willard Curtin is now up for grabs, and conservatives are planning a primary challenge to veteran Liberal GOP Representative James Fulton of Pittsburgh.



► *Rhode Island.* The only race Republicans can win in 1966 will be whichever one Liberal GOP Governor John Chafee decides to enter: he will be a heavy favorite if he chooses re-election, and even money if he challenges Liberal Democratic Senator Claiborne Pell.

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► *South Carolina.* Every major office is up for election, and all three statewide races may well go Republican. When Senator Olin Johnston died in 1965, then-Governor Donald Russell, a Liberal Democrat, had himself appointed to the Senate by then-Lieutenant Governor, now-Governor Robert McNair, a moderate conservative. Since going to the Senate from this usually conservative state, long-time Liberal Russell has voted surprisingly conservative, but even that may not save him from the inevitable backlash against a man who quits his job to promote himself to higher office. He faces a nomination challenge from former Governor Ernest Hollings, who was beaten out of the same seat in 1962. The probable Republican candidate is Representative Albert Watson, a Democrat-turned-Goldwater-Republican who won a widely publicized special election in 1965. Watson, whose name will probably be right below that of Republican Senator Strom Thurmond on the ballot, is favored to displace Russell if he runs. Senator Thurmond himself is the most popular politician in the state and a pre-emptive favorite for re-election. Governor McNair will be slightly favored for a full term unless Republicans can persuade General Mark Clark, latterly a college president, to run against him. Despite the Republicans' potentiality on the state level, they have little chance to gain any of the five Democratic House seats, and may lose the one they hold if Watson seeks the Senate.

► *South Dakota.* Conservative Republican Senator Karl Mundt faces Birchite opposition in the June 7 party primary, and is by no means a shoo-in for six more years. As of now, however, no Democrat likely to defeat him has emerged. Congressman E. Y. Berry, also a staunchly conservative Republican, has been reapportioned into a larger Second District and may face strong primary opposition from the party Left. Republican Governor Nils Boe, up for another two-year term, is in trouble.

► *Tennessee.* Senator Ross Bass, perhaps the furthest-Left member of Congress from the South, won a two-year interim term in 1964 and is now up for the full six years. Prospects now are for the same contestants, in the primary and general elections, as in 1964: Bass vs. outgoing Governor Frank Clement, a moderate Liberal, in the Democratic primary; and Bass vs. Republican Howard Baker, son of the late Congressman and son-in-law of Senator Dirksen, in the finals. Last time out, Baker ran a good campaign despite the Goldwater TVA millstone, and he has nearly an even chance this year. The front-runner in the Democratic primary to succeed Governor Clement is former Governor Buford Ellington, an LBJ man. A likely opponent is John Jay Hooker, a prominent Kennedy Democrat, whose candidacy would turn the primary race into a sort of Kennedy-Johnson proxy war. Conservative Representative William Brock is a possible GOP choice, as is attorney Kenneth Roberts. The House delegation, 6-3 Democratic, looks fairly stable with the exception of the Memphis (Ninth) district. Liberal Democratic Congressman George Grider, who ousted the incumbent in the 1964 primary, will have to fight hard against a strong conservative Republican challenge. Dan Kuykendall, a conservative who ran a surprising statewide race against Senator Albert Gore in 1964, may be his opponent. Reapportionment, however, has clouded the picture, and Kuykendall is reported to be considering a race against conservative Democratic Congressman Tom Murray in the reconstituted Seventh District. Also a GOP possibility in the Seventh is State Chairman Julius Hurst, who opposed Murray in 1964.

► *Texas.* Like so many other conservative Republicans, Senator John Tower is in re-election trouble. For one thing, he represents an overwhelmingly Democratic state. For another, his place on the ballot is directly below that of whatever Republican is dredged up to run against the invincible Democratic governor, John Connally. On top of that, Tower is likely to face a widely popular Democratic opponent, moderate-to-conservative Attorney General Waggoner Carr, who should have no serious opposition in the May 7 Democratic primary. Polls now show Carr leading Tower, but the generally well-liked incumbent has by no means been counted out. Once upon a time, the GOP boasted two House members from Texas. Both were defeated with Goldwater, both of their specters have been gerrymandered out of existence by the Democratic legislature, and neither Bruce Alger nor Ed Foreman, the two men in question, are expected to try to come back. The Republicans' best hope this year appears to be the newly created Seventh District in Houston, where George Bush, a defeated candidate for the Senate last year, is expected to run and win. But GOP strategists are also hopeful about the new Third District (Dallas) and the 18th, where GOP nominee Bob Price got 45 per cent of the vote against middle-roading Democrat Walter Rogers in 1964.

► *Utah.* With no statewide races, both Congressmen—Republican Lawrence Burton and Democrat David King—will be hard to beat. But a Republican, Sherman Lloyd, carried King's seat in 1962 before retiring to seek the 1964 GOP Senate nomination, and he could conceivably win it back. Burton's seat, on the other hand, has been rendered a shade less Republican by a Democratic reapportionment law, and he will have no picnic.

► *Vermont.* Democratic Governor Philip Hoff can probably win another two-year term if he wants it. If he retires, as rumored, to take a Federal job, the race will be wide open. The state's only congressman, Republican Wednesday Clubber Robert Stafford, is certain of re-election.

► *Virginia.* Observers who consigned the state's dominant Byrd Machine to creeping Liberalism received a rude jolt with the appointment of none other than Harry Byrd Jr. to the seat of his ailing father. Little Harry is rumored to be at least as conservative as his daddy. Now the same observers noted above are saying that the voters may veto him in the Democratic primary on grounds of political nepotism, but at the moment it is hard to imagine the electorate of Virginia saying no to a man named Harry Byrd—or, for that matter, Willis Robertson, the old-line conservative who is also up for another term in the Senate. The Republicans will not cause much statewide trouble unless a Liberal—such as Ninth District Congressman Pat Jennings — manages to win one of the primaries. Jennings has declared against Byrd. On the House level, the GOP will again be after the conservative Third District (Richmond and environs), which they have been nosed out of

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in the last two elections. Congressman Joel Broyhill, a conservative Republican who has played Horatio by holding Virginia's most Liberal area (suburbs of Washington, D.C.) for seven terms running, will have to work as hard as ever to turn back the inevitable Liberal attempt to dislodge him from his end of the bridge.

► *Washington.* Four of the state's six Republican congressmen were defeated for re-election in 1964, and at least two of those seats (Second and Seventh Districts) may be out of reach for the time being. The other two may return to their moorings, but at this moment freshman Democrats Thomas Foley and Floyd Hicks must be rated as very slight favorites, even against the former incumbents. But since there are no state races this year, national and local GOP leaders will focus on winning back the four House seats, and a concerted effort could reclaim two and perhaps even three of them.

► *West Virginia.* Representative Arch Moore, the state's only major Republican officeholder, is itching to challenge veteran Democratic Senator Jennings Randolph for re-election, and may give up his safe House seat to do so. He would be an underdog against the popular Randolph, but not at all a hopeless one. If Moore runs, his vacated seat—unlike those of the four Democrats—may no longer be safe.

► *Wisconsin.* The state's biennial gubernatorial races are usually a 50-50 proposition; since his first-term performance is presently under attack from both the Liberal and conservative wings of his own party, freshman Republican Governor Warren Knowles can hardly count on a change of pace. The Democratic primary this September seems likely to become a battleground of personal political machines within the state party structure. Lieutenant Governor Patrick Lucey is a protégé of former Governor John Reynolds, whom Knowles bumped off in '64; National Committeeman David Carley, Lucey's probable opponent, is a disciple of far-Left Senator Gaylord Nelson. Lucey is favored. Two strongly conservative Republican congressmen, Henry Schadeberg and William Van Pelt, were nudged out by Democrats in 1964, and Schadeberg, at least, looks as though he wants to fight his way back. Either would stand a good chance. The state's other eight seats—five GOP, three Democrat—seem immovable, barring an earthquake.

► *Wyoming.* The surprise retirement of conservative Republican Senator Milward Simpson, on medical grounds, throws this year's Senatorial race into turmoil, and improves Democratic chances in a state where the Presidential party has been gaining in recent years. The Republican primary is wide open. The probable Democratic candidate, and a strong one, is Representative at Large Teno Roncalio, a Bobby Kennedy man elected in a 1964 upset; but Roncalio may face a challenge in the August 16 primary from Mike Manatos, a Johnson White House aide. A Roncalio-Manatos clash, if it develops, would constitute the only clear-cut Kennedy-Johnson primary contest this year aside from Tennessee, and would bear watching if for no other reason. The Roncalio bid, incidentally, will give a Republican candidate—possibly former conservative Congressman William Henry Harrison—a good chance to win back the state's only House seat. Republican Governor Clifford Hansen, up for another four-year term, is reported to be in trouble.

If present conditions do not radically change, the Republicans will gain between fifteen and thirty-five House seats, zero to five Senate seats, and will lose one or two governorships. Only with extraordinary effort and luck will the GOP win the 37 House seats it needs to approximate its 1962-64 strength in that chamber; but such a gain is conceivable. Since the Republicans are risking 14 of their 32 senators, there is next to no chance they will gain the eight or ten seats they need to exercise a Senate veto over Great Society legislation. For much the same reason (fifteen of the seventeen GOP governorships are on the line this year) there is little hope of an increase in statehouse power. As in the Senate, the Republicans will be lucky to retain the number of seats they have now. Thus much of the Republicans' (and for that matter, the conservatives') emphasis must be concentrated on House races.

Many of the considerations which entered into this estimate are, of course, imponderables. No one knows how much of President Johnson's high voter acceptance will rub off on local Democrats, or how future reapportionment will affect individual House races, or what new and unexpected candidates and alliances will surface, or what events or catastrophes or sudden shifts of mood will occur between now and November 8. Most of all, no one knows how the nation will feel about the war in Vietnam this fall. Will the Republicans gain if casualty lists mount with not much visible progress toward an American victory? Or will further escalation tend to rally voters behind the President's party much as the Cuban crisis aborted a Republican trend in 1962?

The one thing certain is that the amount of precinct political activity that goes on in individual states will always affect, and often determine, the outcome in those states. The proportion of the 1964 Goldwater army that can transfer its zeal to the lesser contests and subtler causes of 1966 will have a significant effect on the election's outcome.

"Say, isn't that your draft card?"

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Special Report

Indonesia: The Plot that Failed

L. M. TAUBINGER

In May of 1965, at a time when his "Crush Malaysia" campaign was stalled, President Sukarno suddenly and dramatically revealed that he had uncovered an "imperialist plot" against his life and the lives of Foreign Minister Subandrio and Army commander-in-chief General Jani. Sukarno claimed to have documents that would prove his charge, but no one ever got to see them. The documents also revealed, said Sukarno, that if the assassination plot failed the "imperialists" would turn to character assassination and do their best to smear the private lives of himself, Subandrio and Jani. (Since Sukarno's private life *is* an international scandal this would not have been particularly hard to do.)

On May 23, Sukarno addressed a Jakarta rally in celebration of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the three-million- strong Indonesian Communist Party. At the rally, Sukarno emphasized the importance of "fighting the phobia toward Communism" that still persisted in Indonesia. He stressed that "the guiding line of the struggle of Indonesia and [Red] China is identical."

What had for years prevented Indonesia's precipitate slide into Communism was the strongly anti-Communist Indonesian Army. Now political pressures on the Army were stepped up. And Gen. Jani (who was to be replaced after Sept. 30) was proving far less adamant than his predecessors in resisting pressure for the political indoctrination of the Army from top to bottom. There were known to be pockets of Communists in the Navy and Air Force and, indeed, just three months earlier there had been a mutiny at the Surabaya naval base.

The PKI's leader, D. N. Aidit, had urged Sukarno in January to let him arm the peasants and workers, and Sukarno had refused. But in a speech on May 30, Sukarno reported that Red China's premier Chou En-lai had urged him to increase the number of Indonesian armed services—Army, Navy, Air Force and Police—to five, by "arming volunteers." Further, Chou had recommended that the "volunteer armed service" become the nucleus of the armed forces. The Communists obviously hoped that these local militiamen, whom they intended to train and control, would prevent a repetition of the Army crackdown on the Party such as occurred in the Madiun affair in 1948. It was consequently taken as very significant when, during the anniversary celebrations, D. N. Aidit publicly thanked President Sukarno for his promise to arm peasants and workers "if necessary." (On Sumatra, Gen. Mokaginta agreed to arm and train a certain number of workers and peasants during the summer.)

Bung Karno

To complicate matters there was Sukarno's deteriorating health situation. One of his kidneys is said to be out of action entirely and the other in bad condition. Neglect of that condition can lead to uraemia, which is, in effect, a slow poisoning of the blood stream. It can lead to mental instability, extreme irritability and erratic behavior. It is no secret that Viennese doctors had advised Sukarno in September of 1964 to undergo surgery. He was scheduled to return to Vienna for an operation by January of 1965 at the latest, but never did so. In the interim a team of Chinese doctors headed by Professor Wu Chieh-ping visited Indonesia and spent two months with Sukarno, treating him with drugs and stimulants. Sukarno remained in Jakarta—half sick much of the time—and came to depend even more strongly on Foreign Minister and First Deputy Prime Minister Subandrio, who was widely believed to be Peking's choice as successor to Bung Karno. Subandrio also apparently had the backing of Aidit and the PKI.

During the earlier part of 1965, Sukarno took a number of steps that would seem to have increased the strength and power of the Communists. Among them: 1) an indoctrination program for upper level civil servants, begun in June 1965 under the supervision of Roeslan Abdulgani who, though not officially a Communist, was a longtime and ardent supporter of the PKI; 2) the banning of the "Body for the Promotion of Sukarnoism" (BSP), an anti-PKI political grouping; and 3) the banning of the Murba Party, a nationalist-Marxist group that was Moscow-oriented and hence opposed to the PKI.

With the ground so prepared, the Communists struck the night of September 30 and succeeded in murdering six high-ranking generals and wounding Defense Minister Nasution. There's some doubt whether September 30 was the date the PKI had chosen for the coup—some sources believe anti-Communists in the government got wind of the plot and that the deadline was hastily moved up. In any event, the Army struck back successfully. The PKI, three million members or not, proved much weaker and less rigidly controlled than expected. D. N. Aidit went into hiding and is believed dead. Hundreds of Communists have been rounded up and imprisoned. Sukarno emerged still head of State but with his prestige greatly diminished, and Subandrio has been moved into a relatively unimportant government post. For the second time the Army has stood between the people of Indonesia and a Communist takeover.

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Letter from Southeast Asia

Indonesia After Gestapu

RICHARD D. BENSON

In Indonesia the word is not Gestapo but Gestapu. It stands for "Gerakan *S*eptember *Ti*ga *Pu*loh" or "30th of September Movement," the effort of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) to "abduct" a not too unwilling Sukarno, to establish a Communist dictatorship under Aidit, and to stage a huge massacre in three installments. The list of those to be rubbed out has gone from hand to hand; it was, among other things, a roster of the religious leaders of the nation—ulemas, priests, and ministers. These extermination lists invited severe retribution from the armed forces under the leadership of generals Nasution and Suharto. No exact number of victims exists but rumor has it in six figures.

The mass of the population seems to have turned against the Communists, if grafitti (some of it in English) are any indication, and the middle classes have regained their courage. HMI, the Muslim Student Organization banned under PKI pressure, has been reconstituted. The old colorful anti-colonialist, anti-American posters have disappeared; and the big gates of the vast Red Chinese Embassy compound in the heart of the Chinese sector of Jakarta are firmly locked.

Inflation of astronomic dimensions grips the country. Capital is very scarce. Nationalization took place on such a fearful scale that the dollar now costs 32,000 rupiahs on the black market. Still, luxury projects are being carried out. A new downtown area with skyscrapers is under construction in Jakarta and so is yet another monument, to the head of state. Indonesia, which now produces roughly one third of what it produced under colonial rule, could be one of the wealthiest nations under the sun, but Bung Karno thinks economics is the bunk. He has spoken sneeringly of Malaysia's "vulgar and unhealthy prosperity, the result of neo-colonialism." Moral and psychological elements alone, he thinks, assure the greatness of a nation—a non-Marxist viewpoint, to be sure. It is also not a very realistic viewpoint. One is reminded of Brazil, where a feeling prevails that a nation so rich could never go entirely to pot. But what do the generals think?

The Army is fairly popular, having saved the country (as have the armies in most of South America). But it is not really persuaded that it can dispense with a Bung who knows how to address the masses, as despite his badly shaken prestige Sukarno continues to do, using more or less the old vocabulary of anti-colonialism, and exhorting the people (and the Army) not to be too hard on the poor Communists because it would permanently divide the nation. He is, of course, trying to protect his old supporters and, indeed, the conviction is gaining ground that not only Subandrio but Sukarno himself was in on the Communist plot. In any case the Army's position, as recorded in the pages of the *Indonesian Army Daily Mail,* is scarcely a contrary one. "Gestapu" is vilified not as revolutionary but as "anti-revolutionary"—i.e. "opposed to the National Revolution." The "Revolution" remains a sacred cow. This is perhaps not so surprising. Radical changes in policy (and propaganda) cannot be easily effected from one day to the other. After years of vilifying Malaysia, Indonesia cannot suddenly end the "confrontation" or bury the Maphilindo idea (uniting Malaya, the Philippine Islands and Indonesia). Dreams of grandeur linger on.

Foreign Investment Needed

Where Indonesia goes after defeating her Communists has not really been discovered. Having brought themselves to the point where they must *import* rice, the Indonesians might decide to substitute corn for rice (as the government constantly urges them to do) and thus manage to feed themselves, but a dynamic country needs more than a mere subsistence economy. Indonesia needs both foreign investments and foreign experts and instructors in very large numbers. The foreign investments should be real investments, not loans to the government, which still seems fascinated by the idea of state-owned and state-administered public enterprises. In countries without managerial traditions and highly developed work ethics, such schemes almost inevitably fail. Indonesia's last Eight Year Plan never really got started. A country based on the Ramayana and, above all, on the Koran, it surrendered to the false nineteenth-century gods of nationalism and socialism, but its hopes of bypassing Aristotle, Descartes, and Adam Smith have not been fulfilled.

The tenuous "tie"—if tie it is—between the Army and Sukarno places the final orientation of Indonesia beyond the limited question of a new foreign policy. An alliance with the West can hardly be expected. We ought to be satisfied with genuine neutrality, although a return to the period of a Free Indonesia would mean a real advance. If Sukarno goes abroad (for a rumored operation) his absence might be used by the Army to make radical changes, to deal even more harshly with his Communist friends. Little by little the purges are carried out. In Bali the blow fell only last December; today it is Sumatra. Asians take their time. Sukarno does not like these house-cleanings, which have the full support of the populace, but he can no longer prevent them. Not that the masses are true anti-Communists. These people, whose capacity for occasional cruelty is typical of the very gentle, have no systematic political convictions. However, Communist assurances that the Americans are parachuting cobras into Vietnam have no effect in Jakarta, whatever they do for Berkeley.

We are here faced with a nation of 105 million and colossal natural wealth, in which religious institutions are strong and an indigenous force has once again thwarted a Communist coup. General Nasution, the Defense Minister, will soon be Vice President. We have been dealt a good hand. Past mistakes ought to have taught us how to play it.

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Reflections on Vietnam

PRINCIPLES & HERESIES

Frank S. Meyer

A conservative is put into something of a quandary when it comes to discussing the war in Vietnam. Just the fact that we are fighting the Communists somewhere is a tremendous step forward after years of retreat under the slogan of "coexistence." One does not want to do anything to weaken national support for President Johnson insofar as his actions are actions of confrontation rather than retreat.

Meyer

Nevertheless the policy that guides our engagement in Vietnam is so obscure, the conduct of the war so ambiguous, and the goals for which Americans are fighting and dying so uncertain, that discussion and clarification are imperative, if more is not to be lost than won on this extended salient of our frontiers. For a profound contradiction exists between the fact of serious warfare in the jungles of Southeast Asia and the assumptions of national policy that still guide the administration. It is the contradiction pointed out by James Burnham discussing our NATO policy in the February 8 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW — the contradiction between the assumption of peaceful intentions on the part of the Soviet Union and common interests between us and the Soviet Union on the one hand, and the maintenance of NATO as a war alliance or the prosecution of actual war in Vietnam on the other hand.

The Vietnam contradiction is further intensified by an additional twist in Liberal thinking, the idea that while Chinese Communism is still bad, Russian Communism is somehow good. So prevalent is this last attitude that Edmond Taylor, in an excellent report from Vietnam in the *Reporter* for January 27, finds it the key to the bogging down of our efforts there. In interview after interview with leading officials he finds the theme reasserting itself until, as he says, one gets the impression of Alice in Wonderland, or rather "a mixture of Alice and Walter Lippmann." It is as if we were accepting "paralyzing restrictions on our conduct of the war in Vietnam simply to enjoy the privilege of seeing Russian rather than Chinese bullets kill American soldiers."

Indeed, to go beyond Mr. Taylor's thesis, it may well be that it is precisely this peculiar contrast in our attitude to Russia and China that had led to a most strategically unfortunate choice of place for our armed encounter with Communism. Both from the point of view of essential national interest and from the point of view of tactical and logistical advantage, it would seem that Cuba, not Vietnam, should have been the scene for a serious rollback of Communist aggression. Be that as it may, it is in Vietnam that we are presently engaged, and if this is far from the ideal spot for an encounter, it is nevertheless here that the direction of our policy—whether towards resistance or towards further retreat—will be determined.

But no good for the United States can come out of Vietnam unless our engagement there is recognized for what it is—one battle in the continuing war with Communism. There can be nothing but sorrow in return for our sacrifice of blood unless the *Through the Looking Glass* approach of *rapprochement* with the Soviet Union is abandoned. So long as we fail to understand that the Vietnam struggle is but a battle in a larger war it will not be possible to have any clear objectives, any clear definition of what we could regard as victory.

Once we understand Vietnam in its proper context, it should be possible to select any one of a number of possible aims, depending upon the degree of involvement we wish to accept in this particular theater and upon our intentions to press the war on Communism in some other more likely theater. But at whichever level we place our objective, it must be one which registers a sharp clear setback for Communist power.

There are, it seems to me, three possible objectives in ascending order of necessary commitment and expenditure of men and *matériel*. These levels, however, cannot remain totally distinct because the effort to achieve a minimum objective may, depending upon the commitment of the enemy, require escalation to the next higher objective if the first is to be achieved at all. These possible objectives, as I see them, are: (1) the destruction of the Vietcong and the sealing off of South Vietnam, to permit the establishment of a firm anti-Communist regime in South Vietnam—a "Korean solution" for Vietnam; (2) the overthrow of the Hanoi government and the establishment of an anti-Communist government in all Vietnam; (3) in case vigorous prosecution of warfare directed towards (1) or (2) should bring the threat of Chinese intervention, the welcoming of war against China as an opportunity to destroy its nuclear potential and set back its development as a serious military power for years.

Since the Asian continent is hardly the ideal strategic arena for American arms, it may well be that the first of these objectives is to be preferred —but only if it is fully understood that we are prepared to face enemy escalation that would force us to the second or third level rather than fail to achieve the objective of the first level. Indeed, such escalation is quite possible, since it would seem that only actions of the magnitude of a blockade of all Vietnamese ports and land attack against the head of the Ho Chi Minh trail from our bases in Thailand could achieve the complete pacification of South Vietnam. In any case, whichever be our objective, nothing less than a clear statement that we see it as part of the broader war with Communism and that we are prepared to take all steps necessary to achieve it—whatever the Chinese *or* the Russians do—can lift the Vietnam war from its present obscurity and confusion.

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African Affairs

Death In Nigeria

ELSPETH HUXLEY

The astonishing thing about the Nigerian military coup is not that it should have happened, but that it should not have happened until 1966, rather less than six years after the flag of independence was run up over this giant among African nations. It was the personality and statesmanship of Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa that held together this Federation of what are in effect four separate and largely hostile nations. Sir Abubakar was shot down, flung into a ditch, fished out again and given a decent funeral. With him went the form of parliamentary democracy bequeathed by the British, in which he was a genuine believer. Neither is likely to be resurrected. The question is, will the Federation itself survive?

To make a guess at the answer we must first ask why three Prime Ministers were murdered on January 15th: the Federal premier Sir Abubakar and the premiers of two out of four Regions, the Sardauna of Sokoto of the Northern Region and Chief Akintola of the Western Region, not to mention the Federal Finance Minister, Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh—formerly a gay figure whom I remember in a straw boater with a big red feather in it, commonly believed to have turned his control of the Treasury to such good account that he had stashed away in Zurich between $10 and $15 million.

Assassination is, of course, an occupational hazard of most politicians; but this was neither the random act of a screwball, nor the planned act of the "outs" seizing power from the "ins." It was an act of racialism.

Nigeria is a nation of between 55 and 60 million—the numbers rise by nearly two million a year—and about 25 young army officers planned and carried out the coup. Nearly all were Ibos. This was an act of Ibo retaliation against the domination of the Hausa-speaking Northerners.

I write "Hausa-speaking" because the people of the North are not of one race, but most of them are of one culture and tradition, which is that of Islam, and one tongue predominates. Lumped together, these Hausa-speaking, Islam-oriented people outnumber all other kinds of Nigerian, of whom the two major groups are the Yoruba of the Western and the Ibo of the Eastern Region. That is why Sir Abubakar and the Sardauna of Sokoto, both Northerners, were murdered. Chief Akintola and Chief Festus were not Northerners, they were Yorubas, but they had played along with the Northern Peoples' Congress, the party of the North. Akintola had formed his own Nigerian National Democratic Party which governed the Western Region in cahoots with the Northern party after his rival Chief Awolowo had been tried for treason and life-imprisoned in Calabar, where so far as anyone knows he still is.

The Chain Reaction

Last October, elections were held in the four Regions. No one in West Africa expects a political election to be as unworldly as, say, the election of the Moderator of the Church of Scotland; that a good many palms get crossed with silver is taken as a matter of course. But everything can go too far and this election did. Akintola and his party bought their way back at a high cost not merely in cash but in deep and wide resentment. This resentment went on ticking like a time-bomb until it exploded in January and demolished Akintola and his wife and three companions, and started the chain reaction of the military takeover.

In part, this takeover is a genuine reaction of disgust by young army officers, some of them imbued at Sandhurst with the British military tradition, against the squalid pocket-lining of "corrupt politicians." For this reason, most Nigerians interviewed in the street by television teams were enthusiastic about the coup. They were sick of the corruption, intimidation and general skulduggery associated with the words parliamentary democracy. They respected Sir Abubakar as a man but thought that he had bought his tragic end. "There is a point beyond which compromise becomes unwisdom," commented the Lagos *Sunday Times*.

The springs of revolt go deeper even than this. Most of the Hausa-speaking Moslem Northerners live in flat-roofed mud houses in picturesque walled cities, wear flowing robes and colorful turbans, pray five time a day facing towards Mecca and consider themselves linked to an ancient Arabic tradition greatly superior to that of the pagan or Christianized Negro tribesmen, whom they despise as infidels and savages. Formerly they were slavers to a man, or at any rate to an Emir, and it was the Negroes who supplied the great slave markets of Kano, Sokoto, Zaria and Maiduguri. If Northerners can no longer enslave Negroes, they can and do keep them at a distance and segregate them into settlements, the *sabongaris*, outside the city walls.

The Ibos, a lusty and quick-witted race of Negroes from the southeastern rain-forests, do not relish being relegated to the *sabongari*, as Jews to a ghetto. They have taken avidly to Western education and fill many of the administrative and technical positions for which the Northerners still lack expertise.

So here was more resentment ticking away like a time-bomb until it exploded. This is a colonial situation, of course. The white colonialists have gone, the black ones have stayed, and now they are getting the same treatment, only with far more violence, bloodshed and hatred. Nothing is more remarkable than the immunity of almost all the white ex-colonialists during these violent upheavals, and the goodwill towards them generally prevailing. (The Congo was the big exception, but for this there were special reasons.) It is easy to explain this general white immunity; no need to bash a snake whose fangs have been drawn.

The revolution of January 15th was a two-pronged revolt against corruption and party intrigues in public life, and against colonialism exercised by non-Negro Northerners. The time-bomb has blown to smithereens par-

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liamentary democracy. After much behind-the-scenes maneuvering, the actual leader of the revolt, 28-year-old Major Chukuma Nzugwa, submitted to the Commander-in-Chief of the Nigerian forces, Major-General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi, who took no overt part in the conspiracy. General Ironsi has suspended the constitution and now governs Nigeria as head of a military regime.

By now the trend of events in independent Africa is plain enough: one after the other, parliamentary democracies have been replaced by strong, centralized, authoritarian regimes. In some countries this takes the form of a single political party, such as TANU in Tanzania, KANU in Kenya, and Dr. Banda's party in Malawi. In other cases, such as Sudan and several of the former French dependencies—most recently Dahomey—it is the army. Basically, it does not matter which takes over, a military or a quasi-military force. The point is that there has got to be a strong central power with the organization to govern a country. An army has this ready-made, a political party has to create it. But the essentials are the same.

This should surprise no one. We in the West have an attitude towards democracy which is essentially religious. Democracy is Good; it is sacred; it is the *highest* form of political organization, a peak towards which everyone is ardently climbing. But a lot of people are not climbing that particular mountain towards that particular peak. They are on another mountain altogether. The traditional African political structure is that of the tribe with a chief at the head and sub-chiefs under him. This can operate as a ruthless dictatorship or it can be, and much more often has been, pretty democratic in the way it works. What has never been tolerated is the organized opposition, the alternative government. Africans say this leads to disunity, to senseless and wasteful intrigue and, in the ultimate, probably to civil war.

There is no doubt that, in the context of African social organization, they are right. Africa is divided—Nigeria provides a perfect example—not by ideologies and theories but by tribe, race and faith. In democracies you have parties which argue about the best way to do things. The point is that parties are divided by beliefs about which you *can* argue; and the proof is that you can change your opinion. But you cannot change your tribe. You cannot change your race. These matters cannot be submitted to argument. They are in the blood and bone. So what does a political party become? It becomes a phalanx of committed people: a banner behind which men of one tribe or race unite to overcome men of other tribes and races. Where there is no one predominant tribe or race, it is an open invitation to civil war.

If only for this reason, there seems little prospect that the military regime of General Ironsi will come to a speedy end and parliamentary democracy be restored to Nigeria. That does not mean that Ironsi will be a tyrant. He is almost certain to set up a constitution that will allow for the expression of public opinion and legalize the form of government. The Ibo are, as it happens, one of the few

important African peoples who are not united under a central chief but have a much looser, more democratic tribal organization. By background and training, the General and his Ibo officers are not dictatorial types.

The army has a formidable task. There are no more than about 8,000 soldiers and a cadre of some 300 trained officers, all young men. Now they have to govern nearly 60 million people. Whether they can pull it off remains to be seen. Almost certainly Nigeria is in for a stormy time. The proud Hausa-speaking Northerners have two big murders and a lot of little murders to avenge. The Ibo officers are unlikely to look too tenderly on the creators of the *sabongari*, and on the party that has dominated Federal politics since independence began. Here are more time-bombs of resentment ticking away. There will be a censorship, and a lot of what is going to happen will never be known to the outside world.

Is anyone considering the implications of all this for the Rhodesian situation? The ironies are great. Mr. Wilson went to Lagos to be told what to do by the statesmen of the Commonwealth there assembled on January 10th. Only African tact prevented the coup from taking place while Mr. Wilson and Sir Abubakar were talking; Major Nzogwu postponed it until the visiting firemen had flown away. Then a trio of Prime Ministers, and a lot of lesser fry, were shot and chucked into ditches and the government forcibly seized.

This is now the recognized and legal Government of Nigeria and no one has withdrawn ambassadors, delivered moral lectures or even thought about applying sanctions or "bringing the regime to heel." Mr. Smith, who has said all along that this particular way of changing governments is uncongenial to his white supporters, makes a formal declaration of an independence his country has enjoyed *de facto* for forty years; everyone goes off for the weekend, the British governor and his aide play croquet on the lawn and not a shot is fired. But Mr. Smith is now the wicked head of an illegal government, always called the Smith regime; Mr. Wilson reminds us almost daily that Mr. Smith has been disloyal to the Queen, God bless her; and every effort is deployed to destroy one of the few stable and solvent nations and economies in Africa. In the process, incidentally, the distribution of grain to starving Africans in drought-stricken regions is so crippled that probably many will die. But Mr. Smith must be taught not to be disloyal to the Queen, not to deny to the African majority the form of parliamentary democracy every African government, once free to do so, has repudiated, and above all not to answer back to Mr. Wilson. It's a comic world.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

That "New Morality"

Is the rising generation in pursuit of a "new morality"? It has become fashionable to raise the question. Sir Arnold Lunn, with a colleague, has examined the English aspects of this ferment in a perceptive little book by that very title. He suggests the connection between the "new morality" and the "South Bank religion" preached by certain English divines; and certainly we have a band of eccentric American clergy who seem to think that the doctrine of "God is love" leads to the deduction that God may be carnality—if there were any God to begin with, that is.

Kirk

At the beginning of this century, in America, there occurred a discussion of the "new morality" almost precisely like the present confused controversy. The debate furnished gist for journalistic mills and campus confrontations; but after considerable literary commotion, the old morality — whether honored in the breach or the observance—found no competitor but a shadow.

Controversy about "archaic moral codes", nevertheless, is healthy in that it reminds us of enduring norms, which otherwise would be ignored—a worse fate than being attacked. Far from being moral revolutionaries, most of the college students who get up organized discussions of the "new morality" are seeking, rather, for assurance that the Decalogue, and the Sermon on the Mount, may be applied to our present discontents.

Some weeks ago, this commentator participated in a student-arranged symposium, at Duke University, on the New Morality. As not infrequently happens, this Bohemian Tory found himself utilized as a pillar of orthodoxy. (Actually, like Wordsworth, he's more nearly a flying buttress.) His colleagues on the panel were Dr. Harvey Cox, of *The Secular City* and Harvard Divinity School; Mr. Lawrence Lipton, elderly king of the beats of Venice, California; and Mrs. Harriet Pilpel, woman of law, active in the American Civil Liberties Union and other causes. The students gazed upon us all as curiosities.

Mr. Lipton, an amusing advocate of sexual congress and passion without benefit of clergy and other aspects of anarchism (though he prays, and entertains a high scorn of Communism), seemed like a figure from the past, rather than an evangel of progress. His audience did *not* consist of young women who desire to be emancipated, but who succeed merely in being unbuttoned. Mrs. Pilpel advocated with some charm the relaxation of laws against abortion, voluntary fornication, and the like; but the undergraduates of Duke did not seem disposed to embark upon a crusade. Dr. Cox, though he found no code of sexual behavior in Christianity, demolished *Playboy* once more (after the fashion of his commendable essay in *Christianity and Crisis,* a few years ago)—and professed his shock at Mr. Lipton's "insensitivity". Your servant oracularly muttered that the gods of the copybook headings with fire and sword return.

If the atmosphere of this symposium was somewhat Athenian, with every wind of doctrine blowing, still this writer (as an unorthodox specimen of orthodoxy) was not received with the mere polite amusement that marked the Athenians' reception of St. Paul. Probably the vocabulary of Christian morals is better apprehended in colleges nowadays than it was when Babbitt and More attacked their own "new morality." For we have seen the fountains of the great deep broken up; and looked upon Mr. Bobby Baker.

Mr. Baker's is not the new morality; it is the old immorality. ("Amorality" is a sham word; there can be no neutralism in necessary choices between good and evil actions.) We may be more "moral" in modern times than were medieval men, says Gustave Thibon, in the sense that we think and talk more about abstract morality; we fret more about the righteousness or iniquity of our actions. But the folk of the Middle Ages, Thibon continues, had better moral *habits.* In the Ages of Faith, adultery was a sin, however delectable on occasion, and Mr. Baker would have been a scoundrel (they had many such), not a social phenomenon. For that matter, there was no "Renaissance morality": one need merely read old Sir Thomas Browne's *Christian Morals* to discover that the ethical questions of his time are the ethical questions of our time.

The principal founder of state-supported free schools in this land, Horace Mann, believed that the great end of public education is the moral improvement of the rising generation. This point is emphasized by Dr. Louis Filler, of Antioch College, in his recently published anthology of Mann's writings, *Horace Mann on the Crisis in Education* (Antioch Press). In his introduction, Professor Filler takes up his cudgel against "amorality" with vigor.

"Do you believe that you have a soul, or are you perhaps like the intelligent, college-bred airline hostess I met, with an M.A. in English and course credit beyond, who lives from trip to trip, with approximately one lover a year, and a program for world travel at practically no expense? . . . She thinks she is one of a new breed of people, and that there are many people like herself, male and female, and with her general perspectives." As Mr. Filler remarks, it is all a question of whether one has a soul: no soul, no need for morality. And so, Dr. Filler concludes, we arrive at Kew Gardens and the murder of Kitty Genovese—where no one felt a moral obligation to interfere.

Nature abhorring a vacuum, the morally empty human being cannot survive as a species. And the better students in college and university are waking to this hard truth.

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Something Lost Behind the Ranges

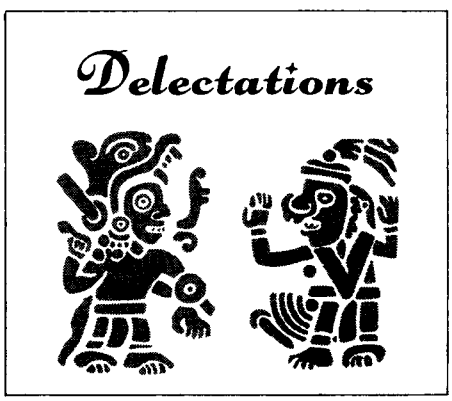
GEORGE F. HOBART

To the average travel-minded American, nothing can ever replace Europe —and nothing ever should. Paris, Venice, Switzerland — each of these (and much else in that amazing little peninsula) is a unique and unforgettable experience.

But, when Europe's wonders have been conceded and savored, where shall the jaded traveler turn for fresh delights? Some will be drawn irresistibly to the great cities of the Far East: Tokyo, Hong Kong, Bangkok. Others will prefer the dark mysteries of Africa: its Arab north, its green equatorial midriff, its powerful and prosperous south.

But why do we hear so little about the great continent that lies south and east of our own? Too near, perhaps? Argentina is farther from New York than Hungary, farther from San Francisco than Tokyo. Too like the U.S.A.? In Europe or Asia one would be hard put to find a culture less affected by the North American influence. (Our soldiers, after all, have never been quartered there.) Too provincial? I give you Buenos Aires, a second Paris (larger than the first) of broad, tree-lined avenues and sidewalk cafés — or Rio, with those heart-stopping mountains and curving ocean beaches (thronged now, in the Southern Hemisphere's midsummer). No history? Stroll, then, through graceful Lima, whence the viceroys of Peru, four centuries ago, dispatched the laden plate fleets home to Spain—or explore the ancient Inca streets of Cuzco, high up on the *altiplano,* already a substantial town when William the Conqueror was building his blocky Tower beside the Thames. Physical splendors? Consider Aconcagua, senior peak of the Western Hemisphere, crowning the Andean cordillera in snowy grandeur, 22,834 feet above the Pacific; or Mt. Osorno, its Fuji-like volcanic cone looming serenely above the dark green waters of Lake Todos los Santos, 600 miles further south along the Argentine-Chilean frontier; or the steaming, rushing roar of mighty Iguassú Falls, at the juncture of Argentina, Paraguay and Brazil.

Well, but does South America have something really unbeatable — truly unique? Yes, indeed it does. From Cuzco, take the electric *ferrocarril* over the switchbacks into the broad uplands of the Anta valley, with its prosperous farms and fields. In about an hour and a half your little one-car train will turn sharply north and, cutting through a narrow thirteen-mile gorge, emerge into the Sacred Valley of the Urubamba. Here the chocolate-brown river, thick with the sediments of the high Andean plateau, rushes northward down its narrow canyon to join the Ucayali and finally the great Amazon itself on the long journey to the Atlantic. The vegetation grows greener and more tropical as we speed along beside the churning rapids—for this is, as Hiram Bingham, its explorer, proudly said, "the most inaccessible corner of the most inaccessible section of the central Andes," and the vast jungle of the Amazon basin is scarcely thirty miles away to the north as the condor flies. But now the precipices on either bank are rearing higher—and higher —and still higher. A thousand feet . . . 1,500 . . . 2,000. (The Empire State Building, aerial and all, is only 1,460.) At last the train stops; a Minibus carries us up the ridge across the river, turn after hairpin turn, until we stand where the last Inca Emperors stood, 400 years ago—where no Spanish *conquistador* ever trod, because they never dreamed of its existence: amid the ruins of Vilcapampa, or (to use its accepted modern name, borrowed from the mountain) Machu Picchu, discovered by Bingham in 1911. Below us—far, far below—the Urubamba coils around the great peak. On every side, huge basalt monoliths thrust upward from the core of the Andes, green with foliage, crowned with clouds. And around us, in a profusion of serried terraces, complex temples, majestic staircases and haughty walls, lie the ruins of the strangest city in the world.



And the price of these wonders? The round-trip air fare from New York to Buenos Aires (which permits stops at all major cities on both coasts) is just $550, economy class. (Side trips to Cuzco and the Argentine-Chilean lake district will increase this a bit, but they are worth every extra penny.) If you are a gastronome, make up your mind that novelty, on South America's West Coast, will frequently have to substitute for excellence; on the Atlantic, there are restaurants for every taste. The general level of expenses is low, by the European standards to which American travelers are accustomed (but beware the fleshpots of the Caribbean, going and coming!). In the wine department, you may find—contrary to general repute — that Chile's reds are better than her whites, and that Argentina has surpassed both.

In fact, about the only thing South America really lacks in the travel department is a first-rate book about it all: something like Fielding on Europe, or Fodor on the Far East. Never mind; stuff Pan Am's "New Horizons World Guide" in your suitcase and be off—

Something hidden! Go and find it!
Go and look behind the ranges—
Something lost behind the ranges.
Lost and waiting for you. Go!

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In Memoriam

Buster Keaton

HUGH KENNER

He has left the world without ever being quite in it. Only saints and a few classic madmen have put forth a comparable power to suggest that this place where we all catch trains so deftly is yet not wholly the place for which we were made. He displayed no consternation, he uttered no protest (what does protest avail?); he gave his energies wholly to not being destroyed by a universe as implacable as an ice-pack, as pervasive as Newton's three laws, as scrupulous as a grandfather clock. Denizens of that universe (and billions inhabit it expertly) would point out to one another that Keaton never smiled: as though it were not a serious business, to keep from being destroyed, really to triumph, never to know you have triumphed.

For it was against the nature of things that he was pitted, and you can never gloat over that adversary; you can only keep moving, only succeed in not being deprived of your mobility; that is your triumph, mobility. Chaplin's adversaries by contrast were great static beefy malevolences, pig-eyed and generally bewhiskered, blocking off the way between Chaplin and his simple desire: a meal, a girl. Knocked on the head innumerable times, they did not succumb, but when they fell, as they did eventually always fall, it was of their own weight. The law of gravity was Chaplin's principal ally. It was Keaton's nemesis.

Thus something could have been done about the world which so discommoded Chaplin, though he was not the man to do it. A Guaranteed Annual Income would have helped enormously; so would the extermination of greedy villains. (He did manage, from picture to picture, to pick off a few.) Meanwhile he had his pathos. and his dignity. Keaton's universe was irremediable, and he disdained pathos.

Keaton was the acrobat, engaging the nature of things in kinetic dialogue. Chaplin was the dancer, according the nature of things with his little two-step a wryly lyrical comment. Bested (pending better times) he could shuffle off: toward the sunset, toward a lonely night, even in one film toward the guillotine. The rhythm of that walk, in *Monsieur Verdoux,* expressed Chaplin's opinion of an order that employs guillotines, as in earlier films a slightly jauntier rhythm had expressed his opinion of a town that leaves men of feeling only the sunset for consolation. But Keaton had no opinion to express. Are opinions in order on the Procession of the Equinoxes? On the fact that one's eyes are not in the back of his head?

For since his eyes were in the front of his head, he had no means of knowing that the motorcycle on whose handles he was riding had lost its driver; whereupon—let James Agee tell it—"Keaton whips through city traffic, breaks up a tug-of-war, gets a shovelful of dirt in the face from each of a long line of Rockette-timed ditch diggers, approaches a log at

high speed which is hinged open by dynamite precisely soon enough to let him through and, hitting an obstruction, leaves the handlebars like an arrow leaving a bow, whams through the window of a shack in which the heroine is about to be violated, and hits the heavy feet-first, knocking him through the opposite wall. The whole sequence is as clean in motion as the trajectory of a bullet."

He had commenced the scene by doubling for the fallen driver, who was played by a man who did not know how to fall. He continued it without guywires and process shots: "I simply trained myself to steer a motorcycle sitting on the handlebars. It was difficult to keep my balance, and I had a few good falls." In that disdain for doubles we detect the continuum of his art: he had erected acrobatic skill into something more than a professional resource and higher than a philosophy of life: into a metaphysic. Man, that blank face implies, is not proper to this world, yet somehow manages. His center of gravity—which you could locate from instant to instant by producing to their point of intersection the flailing arms and unyielding spine—was very nearly a metaphor for something—a gemlike flame, perhaps, like a pilot-light—which it was unthinkable one could lose.

And brute intact survival, in acrobatic duet with forces there could be no question of besting, was the hidden theme of the screen art of the twenties, as remarkable an art, as nearly anonymous, and as nearly lost to reconstruction, as is the theatre of Jacobeans. Then, comedy was the realistic art, which went into the streets; the serious pictures of that era are today madly unreal, whereas Keaton, Langdon, Lloyd and Chaplin engaged an actual world.

That world had commenced to organize itself, after the Renaissance, on the understanding that everyone would eventually receive back, from his consent to be organized, far more than he had surrendered. By 1850 it had at last become clear that the Renaissance was not going to pay off at all, though it had delivered as belated installments a couple of revolutions. Whole populations, it was equally clear, were absorbed into systems, unreachable, so that sociology had to be invented to study them, and Newton's implacabilities had become the readiest metaphor of their behavior. Keaton's love for his cow, in one picture, or for his locomotive, in another, was a love transferred from girls diminished to abstraction by inexplicable rituals of courtship, through which alone they are accessible. The

(Continued on p. 181)

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The Roots of Honor

JEFFREY HART

Re-reading Evelyn Waugh's Crouchback trilogy, just published here in England as a single long novel, one sees that it is a great modern work, a classic of our time. In it Waugh has succeeded in disciplining his energies by means of a complex over-all design, and so can establish meanings more ambitious than he had attempted before. As far as its religious themes are concerned, the novel completes the development begun in *Brideshead,* and it will give no comfort to critics who assert, rather hooperishly, that Waugh confuses Catholicism with *Burke's Peerage.* It is also *the* novel about the Second World War, the one which best assays its actual meaning.

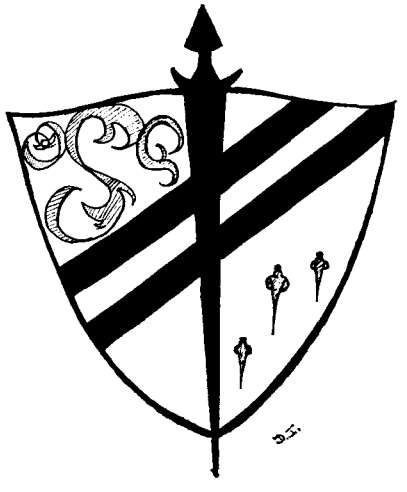
There is some advantage in returning to this novel while living in England, for Waugh has dramatized and so made explicit something you can sense even in casual conversations here, and on the Continent, and which goes far toward explaining those European attitudes (as on Vietnam) which we—justifiably—find so infuriating. There is a fragile prosperity here, and everywhere the potential means of well-being; but everywhere, too, one feels the presence of those two wars. Their cost to America, economically and culturally, was picayune in comparison with their cost to Europe. These countries would fight again, in a pinch, but the sense of having been had is widespread, if not always fully conscious. The political results of both wars were—and are—atrocious; the costs in every area of life have been enormous; and the wars themselves, in sober retrospect, exude self-deception, fraud, and comprehensive absurdity.

One need read no more than a sentence or two of Waugh to become initiated into his fictional world, for his prose does not merely convey narrative information, but, through its cadences, its diction, and its timing, fully expresses his vision. Take his opening:

> When Guy Crouchback's grandparents, Gervase and Hermione, came to Italy on their honeymoon, French troops manned the defenses of Rome, the sovereign Pontiff drove out in an open carriage and Cardinals took their exercise side-saddle on the Pincian Hill.

Waugh remarks elsewhere that the

Sword of Honour, by Evelyn Waugh. British Book Centre, $11.00



study of Latin disciplines one's prose. What we find in his own is just such discipline of syntax, but, played off against content that may be gently *outré,* as here ("Crouchback," "Gervase," "Hermione," those side-saddle Cardinals) or elsewhere moves into the really odd, the outrageous, or the catastrophic.

Waugh's world is one in which we are delighted to meet "Guy's uncle Peregrine, a bore of international repute whose dreaded presence would empty the room in any center of civilization"—but it is therefore also one in which we are not surprised to meet Brigadier Ritchie-Hook, a "legendary wielder of the entrenching tool" who "once came back from a raid across no-man's-land with the dripping head of a German sentry in either hand." And because Waugh's vision can accommodate oddity and outrage it is congruent with actuality: the world *is* like that—as Waugh demonstrates by making public history part of the structure of his novel. Thus, the "Russian-German alliance shook the politicians and young poets of a dozen capital cities." Or, again: "Churchill's broadcasts had been played on the mess wireless set. Guy had found them painfully boastful and they had, most of them, been immediately followed by the news of some disaster." Thus, England went to war over the German invasion of Poland, and, in a macroscopic pratfall quite in keeping with Waugh's sense of the absurd, ended up as an ally of Soviet Russia—the country which originally had helped to make the war possible, and which (cream of the jest!) had helped to dismember Poland. The concrete issue in the war, as George Kennan somewhere remarks, was whether Germany or Russia would dominate Eastern Europe. For her pains, England barely survived—to go shabbily broke and socialist.

Two large narrative movements, one ascending and the other descending, order the profusion of events in *Sword of Honour.* It is the story of Crouchback's salvation, and, simultaneously, of the dismemberment of Christendom. There is space here to indicate only the outlines of this design.

Like Charles Ryder of Brideshead, Guy Crouchback embarks upon a mistaken pilgrimage, learning in the end that order and meaning are not to be found where he had sought them. Each time he seems to find them, they turn out to be only apparent, not real, and quickly succumb to flux or farce. The Halberdiers and the Commandos, Broome and Bel-

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lamy's, the Allied Cause—none escapes. Ivor Claire, aristocrat and horseman, "quintessential England" as Guy thinks, deserts his men on Crete. Ritchie-Hook, a kind of Churchillian *alter ego,* dies absurdly in Yugoslavia during a phony battle rigged by English Communists to improve Tito's public relations, while Tito himself "runs rings around" Churchill, who has been advised that Tito is something like Garibaldi. England, after declaring war on Finland (!), deserts her Serbian allies.

The developing social tone of the novel reinforces its theme of public disintegration, moving gradually from the traditional atmosphere of the Halberdiers to that of parvenus on the make (Trimmer and Ian Kilbannock), and arriving finally at that of the Soviet alliance and the People's War, with its ersatz relic, the Stalingrad Sword in Westminster Abbey (implicitly, the sword of dishonor), and a cowed and proletarian England, ready to "queue up" for anything. As the novel comes to an end, the sinister Ludovic and an assortment of Communist conspirators dominate the scene.

The theme of disorder, of course, is central to Waugh's other novels, but in none of them does it have the poignancy it has here. One example: Apthorpe with his Thunder-Box (an elaborate Edwardian portable toilet) is an immortal clown; on another level, he represents the solipsism and self-indulgence of pre-war England; but when he dies of fever in Africa we remember Apthorpe the schoolboy at Staplehurst: "Here lay the fields where muddy Apthorpe had kept goal . . . the sanctuary where clean Apthorpe in lace cotta had lighted the tapers." That Apthorpe was English, too (though even here there are Waughian ironies).

Though Waugh has sometimes been accused of an idolatrous worship of tradition and aristocracy, it is the very point of *Sword of Honour* that these things are only proximate sources of order and meaning, not final ones, and that a genuine eschatology must transcend them. Crouchback pursues a mistaken pilgrimage, but God "with a twitch upon the string" brings him to a recognition that order must be first an inward thing. "Pride," as Yeats said, "must be established in humility." "If a man have not order within him," wrote Pound in the *Cantos,* "he cannot spread order about him." Thus Guy Crouchback, shorn of illusion, and cuckolded by his wife and a parvenu hairdresser, saves his own soul, and re-defines honor, by taking the child as his own. Meaning, we understand, does not finally reside in the world of events but in the submission of the will in charity. As Guy's father tells him, in the life of the spirit "quantitative judgments do not apply."

Evelyn Waugh is a great novelist. Do not bet on him to get the Nobel Prize. (Or on Pound or Dos Passos for that matter.) Still, he most certainly knows where in the hierarchy of values such prizes belong.

Whose Capitalism?

WILLIAM F. RICKENBACKER

UNCONSCIOUS SELF-REVELATION is rare and always worthy. At the start of this immense volume Mr. Shonfield admits that he never did like "capitalism" but must use the term anyway, because there is no substitute, and because capitalism has actually done all right since the Second World War. But its success was "unexpected." The "people of my generation, brought up in the 1930s," foresaw a return of "the bleak and squalid system which we knew." If, after the war, Europe started moving again—well, chalk it up to reconstruction, not to "the bleak and squalid system." If, by 1951-1952, the boom continued—well, trace it to the Korean War, not to the "system." If no general recession followed the Korean episode—give credit to "the delay in catching up on certain amenities and improvements in living standards," not to capitalism. If, in the latter 1950s, many Western countries not only failed to slow down, but actually posted increased rates of growth—well, at that point Mr. Shonfield decided a book should be written to show that "capitalism" is not dead, but is living, and lively.

Modern Capitalism: The Changing Balance of Public and Private Power, by Andrew Shonfield. Oxford, $10.50

Which is to say that Mr. Shonfield held out, for fifteen years, against the contrary evidence of economic life. He has told us that humility is not his, and that he has a terrible swift ax to grind; we should be on our guard when he undertakes, as in this book, to explain how the "modern" capitalism has succeeded so splendidly. Is he merely sweeping unwanted evidence under the rug when, in a book on modern capitalism, he omits Japan? Take note of his underlying prejudice when, in 400 tightly packed pages comparing the postwar economic experiences of a half-dozen Western countries, he gives scarcely a paragraph to monetary inflation. The word "currency" does not even appear.

There are more references to Keynes, wrong when he lived and twenty years dead, than there are to Erhard, right, still here, still chancellor of Germany. Labor unionism is not mentioned. Those who supported Erhard's economic policies outside Germany were "a reactionary fringe —sometimes more lunatic than reactionary." The U.S. balance of payments problem is as follows: we must contrive to keep the deficit, because the greatest "menace" to Western prosperity would be U.S. equilibrium in international payments. The U.S. experience during the 1930s is lovingly detailed. The German and Italian experience in the same era is ignored.

If all of that is brushed aside, what does Shonfield have left to write about? He has governmental intervention to write about. Indeed, "mod-

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ern capitalism" turns out to be his phrase for centrally administered capitalism. No enemies to the left: modern capitalism is All Systems Go in Sweden, Britain, *dirigiste* France (there is no other France), West Germany of the *soziale Markwirtschaft*. To make Erhard's Germany fit in, Shonfield is forced to ignore the difference between progressive and regressive tax structures; he finds that in West Germany, taxation as a percentage of GNP is higher than in Great Britain, and concludes that West Germany is to that degree more anti-entrepreneurial than Britain. Is it necessary to remind him that enterprise is encouraged or discouraged by the incremental rates on incremental profits (incomes), not by the percentage of GNP taken up in taxes?

BUT SHONFIELD MOVES blithely forward, building up his special pleading on the point that modern capitalism is successful only to the extent that it is controlled by central government. This is either a piece of frivolous word-play, or a wilful misunderstanding of reality by an ideological addict. I take the second to be the more likely case. Shonfield has unconsciously revealed himself already as a committed ideologist. Throughout his book he introduces the most damaging bits of evidence or induction and drops them like hot potatoes. We must at least applaud him for mentioning them at all. He does go so far as to say that what we have today (governmentally administered Big Business financing a governmentally administered welfarism) would not have come about through orthodox Keynesian policies (and *therefore* Keynes was "wrong" . . .?). He does admit that "personal liberty" is probably more secure under the "unpompous" and non-activist government of Great Britain than in, say, France. He does allow that oligarchy is the natural structure of any centrally administered economy (and I would add that the oligarchy tends towards plutocracy if the laws are stable). He does make the amazingly ingenuous assertion that "there were aspects of Nazi industrial planning in peacetime which foreshadowed some of the methods that have come to be commonly adopted in postwar Europe" —and then he moves placidly onwards, and one hopes upwards, to other matters.

Twenty years ago Friedrich Hayek pointed out, in his singularly courageous book *The Road to Serfdom*, that there are terrible similarities between fascist and socialist systems of management. The Liberals of that moment averted their gaze from the awkward thesis of Hayek, because fascism was a dirty word. After all, Hitler was a fascist, and you know what a beast *he* was! Now comes the good Mr. Andrew Shonfield to tell us that many of the admirable accomplishments of "modern" capitalism in Europe had actually been foreshadowed by Nazi methods of industrial planning "in peacetime," and nevertheless the current practices are considered to be a step forward. I very much fear that this is another moment of triumph for that little poltergeist in Mr. Shonfield's brain who pops up to whistle the hornpipe whenever a cemetery is in sight.

The West is moving into a post-socialist, proto-fascist age. Individual liberty, personal privacy, and private property are on the decline. There could be no better proof of such an assertion than that a dogmatic Liberal like Mr. Shonfield should give his reckless acquiescence in the Nazification of Western government—no doubt, on the sentimental hope that it is all in a good cause.

Random Notes

● GET AWAY FROM IT ALL with Robert Manry's *Tinkerbelle* (Harper, May, $4.95) or R. M. Patterson's *Trail to the Interior*, about the wilds of British Columbia (Morrow, June, $3.95) or perhaps *The Varieties of Psychedelic Experience* by R. E. L. Masters and Jean Houston (Holt, May, $7.50). . . . Random House has two collections of the best of two newspaper columnists (one indestructible, the other lately cashiered by *Newsday*): *Jim Bishop: Reporter* (February, $6.95) and *My Turn* by John O'Hara (April, $4.95). . . . *The New Theologian*, by the *New Yorker*'s Ved Mehta (Harper, April, $4.95) should help to make things clear, but the same publisher's *The Future of Religions*, by Paul Tillich (April, $2.95) will likely fog it all up again. . . . Noteworthy amidst the glut of new fiction are Conrad Richter's sequel to *The Light in the Forest*, called *A Country of Strangers* (Knopf, May, $3.95); a new work by the estimable Davis Grubb, *Shadow of My Brother* (Holt, April, $5.95); reprint of Kurt Vonnegut Jr.'s *Player Piano* (Holt, March, $4.95); *The Crying of Lot 49*, wherein Thomas Pynchon takes on California (Lippincott, March, $3.95) and Kingsley Amis' *The Anti-Death League* (Harcourt, April, $5.95).

● THE NEW GOTHICISM lumbers on; Paperback Library has a series, too. One item therein, billed as "a genuine Paperback Library Gothic," and replete with gloomy cover art and such eye-catchers as "A holiday ends as terror begins," is none other than that perennial delight of satire-lovers, Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* ("Could Catherine trust her love? Would Henry tell her the truth or was he, too, involved in the evil of the house—an evil which threatened to enmesh Catherine herself?"). They're getting desperate.

● ROLL 'EM! Homeward Productions will film Wolfe's *Look Homeward, Angel* later this year. Screenplay is in the hands of Ketti Frings, who did the stage version; an "unknown" leading man will be lured away from the legitimate stage. . . . A "semi-documentary" on the murder of Janice Wylie and her roommate is planned by Chandelle Productions. . . . Fred Zinnemann directs Columbia's *A Man for All Seasons*, to be shot in London this spring with Paul Scofield, again, as Sir Thomas. . . . Producer Sy Weintraub has rights to do a musical version of Wilder's *Our Town*. . . . Elia Kazan will do a five-years-after sequel to *America, America*, as the second part of a trilogy.

● INTERESTED? The government up Alberta way is advertising for a new chief film censor, *Variety* reports. Should be a man with a degree in sociology, psychology, or fine arts. The incumbent, a Col. Fleming, plans to retire in March. "I didn't want the job," he is said to have commented. "I simply accepted it because I wasn't fit enough to go into business."

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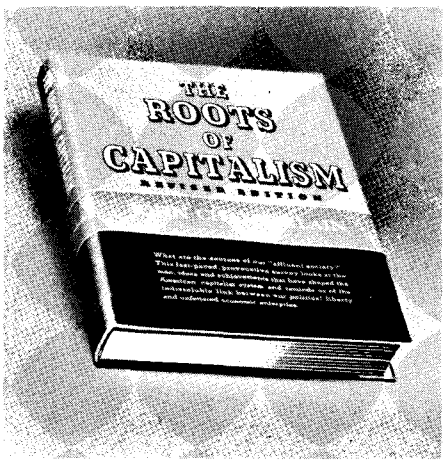

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The Traditionalist Right

FREDERICK D. WILHELMSEN

THE SCANDAL of ignorance in the American academic community about just what the European Right is and means has been partially removed by *The European Right,* a study of rightist politics in ten countries edited by Professors Rogger and Weber. This anthology is largely the work of American scholars who share the presuppositions of Liberal democracy, who judge the European Right in terms more congenial to the Jacobin Goddess of Reason than to the Notre Dame she profaned by her presence. But I hasten to add that these words are not written in any spirit of contumacy or criticism. The authors of this book are good scholars and have done their job better than anyone had a right to expect from men whose basic philosophical commitments lie to the left of center.

This book ought to have been backed by conservative foundations and written by American conservative scholars. But the American Right has shown itself alarmingly naive in what often seems to be a principled rejection of any serious consideration of things politically conservative that take place outside the Anglo-Saxon diaspora of Western civilization. Very possibly a bridge between America and England might be found less in Burke than in the influence Chesterton and Belloc exercised on Southern Agrarianism in the early years of the century. English Distributism and Southern Agrarianism may not have constituted a true bridge but they were at least a pontoon thrown across the water. Belloc's somewhat tenuous and sporadic relations with *Action Française* may supply a still further beachhead linking the Anglo-American and Latin worlds. Maurras' reading of Vazquez de Mella, a reading that came too late to do him much good, suggests lifelines crossing the Pyrenees to the mind of traditionalist Catholic Spain, which in turn helped quicken the thought of Vogelsang and the Christian Social movement in Austria that ended in the murder of Dollfuss by Nazi thugs.

The European Right, A Historical Profile, edited by Hans Rogger and Eugen Weber. University of California, $9.50

All the authors unite in condemning the frequently innocent and more frequently vicious identification of the European Right with Nazism and Fascism. Only Mr. Ernst Nolte in his German study seems to err seriously on this score when he maintains that "the leftist elements in National Socialism are either historical anachronisms or sham acquisitions. It is quite otherwise with its rightist features." This statement is easily refuted by a map printed in Kuehnelt-Leddihn's *Freedom or Equality,* which demonstrates visually just how it was that the traditionally conservative Catholic provinces of Germany were precisely those that voted against Hitler in 1932. The Communist under-the-table bankrolling today of the Nazi-tainted NDP would also scarcely indicate a merely accidental relationship between national socialism and the Marxist Left.

READERS OF THIS ANTHOLOGY will most naturally gravitate to studies about those nations they know best. Mr. Stanley Payne's fine essay on the Spanish Right does not quite do justice to the towering genius of Domoso Cortés but Payne does accurately fix Carlism as the most significant rightist movement in all Europe, boasting—as it does—a continued existence of over 160 years of armed opposition to the Revolution. Carlism is the most purely lyrical and militant response to Liberalism that has come out of Catholic Europe. Profoundly popular; rooted in the rich mountainous provinces of northern and eastern Spain; annealed in a love of "The Old Laws" (as the Basque battle cry has it) and liberties that vanished with the radical centralization of Spain and the accompanying rape of municipal and church lands; marked by a chivalric allegiance to God and Church unmatched anywhere in the world, Carlism remains as *the* permanent protest to the Revolution.

Payne's splendid history of Carlism seems to peter out, however, at around 1939 because he tells his readers nothing about the miraculous resurgence of Carlism in our days, a

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resurgence demonstrated dramatically on the first Sunday of each May when the mountain of Montejurra in Navarre is covered with tens of thousands of red berets which turn the craggy heights into scarlet fields of poppies as Mass is celebrated there on a stone altar surrounded by a forest of crosses and banners blazoned all over with images of the Virgin and Christ the King.

The Catholic Right was inspired by motives whose political implications were consequences of a religious affirmation. Mr. Andrew Whiteside aptly illustrates this in his Austrian study where he traces the growth of the Christian Social movement of Karl von Vogelsang back to Leo XIII's *Libertas Praestantissimum*. Although the traditionalism of the Catholic Right and the more nearly simple conservatism ("Old Liberalism") of the Protestant Right had their roots in religion, we cannot reduce the European Right as such to a simple religious reaction to "the age of materialism." Professor Hans Rogger in his "Afterthoughts" grapples with the truly philosophical problem of finding an analogical set of principles that enables us to group together a welter of political tendencies, often mutually opposed, under the common rubric of "The European Right." His conclusion is truly brilliant: what makes the term "The Right" meaningful, as a generic concept applicable to a host of differing political movements in the Europe that grew out of the French Revolution, is its hostility towards rationalism, egalitarianism, and internationalism. Wherever one or another of these three dimensions enters a political movement as a positive factor, that movement ceases to be describable in terms acceptable to political philosophy as "rightist" within the European context.

But I am not in sympathy with Rogger's complaint about a supposed "lack of nobility" in the leaders of the Right. Some of them, it is true, were scoundrels but others were saints. I am thinking of the martyred Dollfuss. I am thinking of Fal Conde, the only man in Nationalist Spain who dared to defy Franco in war and peace. But the real heroes of the *Christian* Right are its martyred dead. I am thinking of the peasants of the Vendée who braved the cannons of the Revolution and spent themselves unto death under the white banners of the Lilies of France. I am thinking about the tens of thousands of Carlist *requetés* who carried their enormous crosses into the battle side by side with their bayonets and rifles as they stormed and took Communist position after position in that bitter Spanish Civil War, which is the harsh mirror in which the West can trace the hidden treasons and betrayals of its own soul. I am thinking about the little prayer book those men carried into battle as well: on the first page there reads the ordinance: "Before God you will never be an anonymous hero."

The Cult of Sex as Literature

PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE

SITTING in a Paris "Left Bank" cafe a few years ago we whiled away the time discussing the pornography of Akbar del Piombo (whose pseudonym?), who was one of the more original and inventive sexual fantasy writers for Olympia Press in Paris. In those days Olympia and Obelisk presses carried the back cover inscription "Must not be imported into England or U.S.A." Del Piombo represented to us, at that moment of our experimental youth, the essence of the writer's outrage with petit-bourgeois standards of commonplace sex. This pornography had the advantage of capturing the imagination, like good science fiction or the suddenly "discovered" *Lord of the Rings,* plus a light-hearted and consciously surrealistic approach to sex. If the topic could be accepted, few could argue the creativity of del Piombo. One reason for his pornographic success was that his books appealed to more than the libido.

Only a few people still smuggle Olympia and Obelisk books into this country. In fact, the internal censorship in France has driven Olympia Press's founder, Maurice Girodias, to the United States, where he is trying to set up shop. But Girodias will encounter competition here in the

The Nightclerk, by Stephen Schneck. Grove, $4.95

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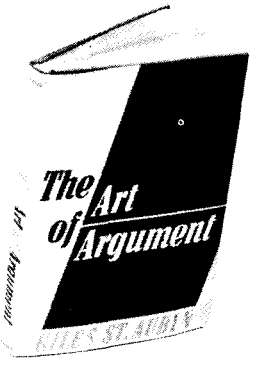

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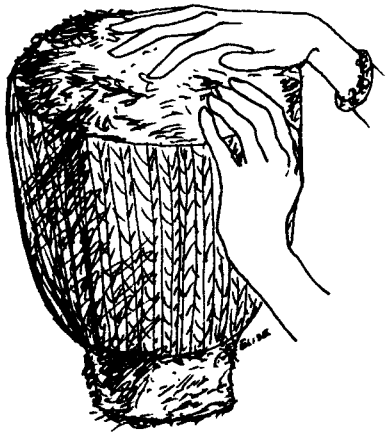

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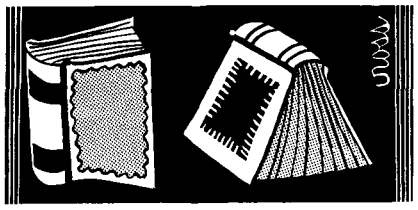
already established house of Grove. I am not implying that Grove Press is a publisher of pornography. Far from it. In straight fiction Grove has distinguished itself by printing some of our better experimental writing. But it does not always publish exceptional works either, especially when attempting to capture the American mantle of Olympia. If there is good at Grove there apparently must by necessity also be bad.

The Nightclerk by Stephen Schneck is one of Grove's latest and least laudable. While it originally won the $10,000 Formentor Novel Prize, it is difficult to envision what the judges used as criteria. It deals exclusively with the mental meanderings of a grotesquely fat hotel nightclerk, aptly named J. Spenser Blight. Blight spends his novel eternity like an obese yoga behind the hotel counter listening to the decaying building resounding with night sounds of whores and their pets. His weight drastically shifts from page to page in a weird attempt at some kind of *tour de force*, and when not passively listening to these night sounds, he spends his time slobbering over penny-dreadful novels and pinup books which he snips apart for later use.

The key to Blight's hallucinations, and the novel, is his beautifully bizarre "wife" named Katy. Katy is intricately described as the essence of nearly all psychotic sexual behavior. She is booted, spurred, high-



heeled, corseted, opera-hosed, whipped, bound, enslaved, dominated and domineering, gloved, and orgied literally to death. She is not only unconvincing but tiresome, and *The Nightclerk,* for all its pretenses, is simply bad writing, using a watered-down American approach to the Olympia series. Schneck needs a strong dose of mental fluorides to stop his already decaying style. *The Nightclerk* fulfills the function of being neither experimental or roguish nor system-shattering (like Miller's tour of the Tropics). It is immature writing, advertised to appeal to various fetish fanciers, packaged in an "uptown" pop-cartoon cover, and completely valueless. The prospective reader can only find solace in the knowledge that the Formentor Prize doesn't use our tax money.

Men and Letters

Maugham's Bondage

FARLEY CLINTON

W. Somerset Maugham was born on 25 January 1874, the son of a lawyer at the British Embassy in Paris. In other perambulators just then, as yet inarticulate, were other dear little fellows, Maurice Baring, Max Beerbohm, G. K. Chesterton, Winston Churchill, Ford Madox Ford, Bertrand Russell, crying for much paper and fountain pens. A boy's will is the wind's will, and the thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts: but I don't think it occurred to anybody born between 1872 and 1874 that one might not wish to be a gentleman. Intensity, passion, madness came later. Joyce, Pound, Virginia Woolf, Edith Sitwell, D. H. Lawrence, T. S. Eliot, Kafka came later with their heightened and disorganized sensibilities acute almost past belief; the generation of 1882-1889; the "modern world," as they called themselves, the new romantics. Maugham and his immediate contemporaries flourished in the golden, stuffy summer afternoon of English greatness, in the London of Edward VII.

Maugham had the good or bad luck to start out writing while Oscar Wilde still dominated English conversation and writing. "When I was a child, all the world had gone Wilde," wrote Chesterton. Before little Willie Maugham was ten, Oscar had been satirized in *Punch* and by Gilbert and Sullivan, feted and flattered all over London and, on a brilliant lecture tour, all across the United States. When Maugham wrote his first book (1893) at the age of nineteen, Oscar was in his prime. I can hardly tell you how utterly he was in it. Wilde destroyed the heavy, velvet, plush sentence in which Victorian people thought and

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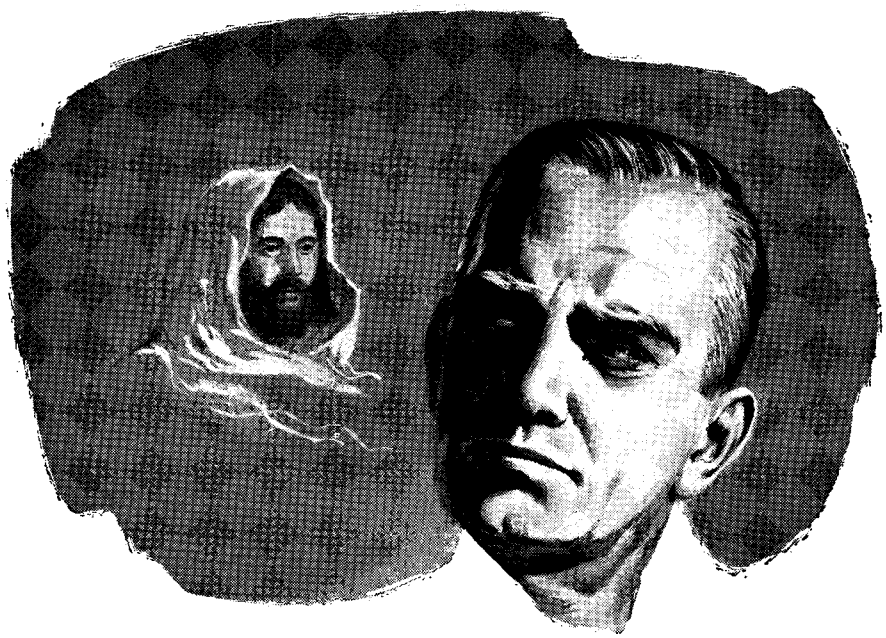
spoke to one another; the speech at the eleven-course banquet, the solitary meditations of the earnest student with a nonconformist conscience, all those libraries the Victorians have left about their hurt feelings. His talk is the beginning of modern English prose; the sentences simple and graceful, witty, carefully designed to give an impression of freshness and—spontaneity. In Maugham's generation, intoxicated by Wilde's example, Chesterton (b. 1874) and "Saki" Munro (b. 1870) became far more intelligent and subtle talkers and writers than the Master himself. After 1895, the young chose other models; but the conversation of educated English people has never been the same again.

Inevitably, the young Maugham filled notebook after notebook with "epigrams." He was ignorant and miserable; but he would be a stylist. A young man according to his way: and when he wrote *Points of View*, in 1958, he did not depart from it. Maugham's basic assets were nothing more than sharp eyes and ears, and a keen sense for what the reading public would find touching, funny, or bizarre. His method was rightly described as "the plain speaking of the man from the laboratory." But in the end he learned to write very well. He wrote constantly, he wrote carefully, he wrote for its own sake, he soaked himself in the words of anybody who wrote very well and might have something to teach him. He learned how to be interesting. He was dry, cool, and elegant. He wrote his own witty plays which had more immediate success than Wilde's own, he made a small fortune from them, and, at 40, he married and bought a house on the Riviera where he lived and wrote for the next fifty years. The novels which made possible this pleasant retirement are quite unimportant. Everybody has forgotten them, had forgotten them almost by the time that Maugham was able to retire on the profits they had made him. What is noteworthy is that it is just at this point that his career, his delightful and memorable work, begins.

Writing every morning in the Mediterranean sunshine, he became the rich, remote, fluent and popular writer whom the whole English-speaking world read with pleasure. He wrote six novels which were greatly admired: *Of Human Bondage* (1915), *The Moon and Sixpence* (1919), *The Painted Veil* (1925), *Cakes and Ale*

Something Tells Me!



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(1930), *Christmas Holiday* (1939) and *The Razor's Edge* (1944). In 1939 Evelyn Waugh called him "the only living studio master under whom one can study with profit."

The true, the durable Maugham is to be found, I think, in those books which are written in the first person, by the detached, experienced, candid observer of life that Maugham really was. *The Moon and Sixpence, Cakes and Ale, The Razor's Edge* obviously should last. In these novels Maugham is himself, and offers us some measure of sober truth. He wrote also a great number of very readable short stories and, at the end of his life, some books of essays and literary criticism which are entirely praiseworthy. *Cakes and Ale,* that one of Maugham's novels which everyone now accepts as some kind of masterpiece, is actually a vehicle for recording impressions (highly unfavorable ones) of the literary scene between the 1880s and 1930. It is, consequently, the one of Maugham's works in which his admirable technical dexterity in telling stories is placed directly at the service of the real passion of his life, literary ambition, with its jungle-like rivalries and animosities.

Without concealing his malice by giving his characters assumed names he later produced a series of delicious, brilliant sketches of the various geniuses and cultural idols of our day, which are as good as anything he wrote, and which surely deserve to "survive": *The Vagrant Mood, Points of View* (with its immortally funny portrait of Katherine Mansfield), *Ten Novelists and Their Novels.* They are as good as *Cakes and Ale,* which they so greatly resemble. (It is unjust that they have not been recognized as such, while so clumsy and almost adolescent a work as *Of Human Bondage,* which was planned and no doubt seemed worth writing when Maugham was 24, has been overpraised.) Finally, in his autobiography, *The Summing Up* (1937), Maugham has unquestionably added a true classic to English literature. In it he demonstrates, astonishingly, that he was capable of the same brutal realism in dealing with his own career and talents as when observing other people's.

Maugham leaves a curious gap behind him. Many have talent. Of course. But there was nobody else in the English-speaking world in our time so distinguished for intelligent diligence in his literary career. And diligence is only another word for love. That was the true bondage in which he lived, and of which he wrote most eloquently.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE UNCOMMITTED: *Alienated Youth in American Society,* By Kenneth Keniston (Harcourt, $8.50). The author, Assistant Professor of Psychology at Yale Medical School, offers us a study of what he terms the "new alienation." Feeling that no one of the social sciences can completely illumine the subject, his approach is "interdisciplinary." His subtitle is too inclusive, for he is dealing not with youth in general in American society, but a very small segment of it—a group of middle and upper middle class students at Harvard; he then employs his findings in a larger consideration of our culture and society. Within that context, his portrait of a certain kind of alienated student today seems complete. It is at any rate absorbing. Professor Keniston has used the term "new alienation" because he finds the forms and origins of his students' alienation different from those of any place outside American society at any other time. Reading him, one can't help sensing that he may perhaps be a bit alienated himself. "It is hard to rejoice on learning that God is dead," he writes. "More understandable is anger and rage at one's loss, and contempt for those who still believe in His existence." G. M. PEPPER

THE MANPOWER REVOLUTION: ITS POLICY CONSEQUENCES, ed. by Garth L. Mangum (Doubleday, $6.50). Towards me this dreary world has hiccoughed up yet one more dreary volume: some 500 pages culled from the 3500 pages of testimony gathered during eight months by a Senate subcommittee. The general problem was unemployment, the general solution education, education enough, I hope, to avoid such tragedies as: "The necessary but stultifying neutralization of higher-talent manpower resources into the creation of exotic but effervescent military hardware and defense systems maintained a restraining hand on potential growth rates" and ". . . a clear quantification of

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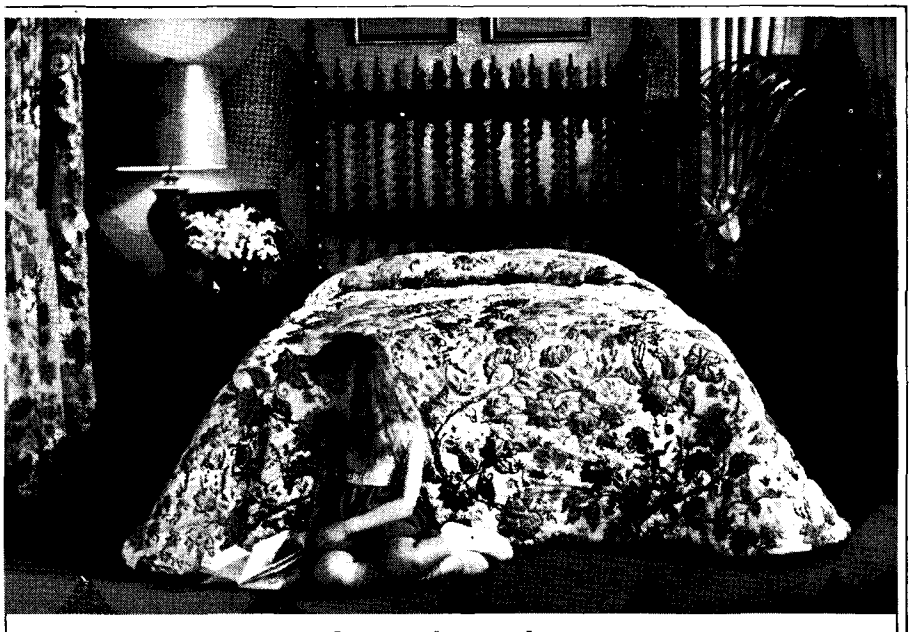
the great priorities of our national needs, so that the attainment of nominal maximum employment and production would not be sought at the expense or sacrifice of many of the things our people need most, even while we multiply the supply of the things they need least." All the witnesses agree: unemployment comes about from bad education. All the witnesses agree: good education gives a youngster marketable skills. This reviewer disagrees. The employer hires character, not skill. Show me a youngster who is clean, prompt, reliable, honest, energetic, willing to learn, understanding of people, forthright, diplomatic, and at one with himself—and I'll show you a youngster who need never be unemployed. Teach a lad to repair an engine; if he is dirty, tardy, dishonest, lazy, and hard to live with, he'll be unemployed like as not. Education? *Moral* education makes practical sense. Accept no substitutes. W. F. RICKENBACKER

THE PENKOVSKIY PAPERS, by Oleg Penkovskiy (Doubleday, $5.95). These papers, says editor Frank Gibney, "are a personal testament, not an intelligence report." They may not be technical intelligence briefs of the sort that Colonel Penkovskiy of the Soviet military's Chief Intelligence Directorate (GRU) passed on to the West during his role as "our man in Moscow" in 1961 and '62; they do, however, provide the background necessary for an understanding of the Soviet spy system. Small wonder that the Administration worries that this book will harden resistance to the Consular Treaty. "In a Soviet consulate," the Colonel says, "almost 100 per cent of the personnel are KGB [Committee of State Security, the dominant Soviet intelligence agency]." Trade with Russia? The Ministry of Foreign Trade, he warns, exists "as such only in Moscow. Abroad everything is controlled by the KGB and us, the GRU." "In short," he adds, "there is no institution in the USSR that does not have in it an intelligence officer or agent of either the GRU or KGB. Furthermore, the majority of the personnel in Soviet embassies abroad are KGB and GRU employees." The contents of this volume will not shock veteran students of Communism, for it has all been told before, but it is an excellent eye-opener for the naive and the uninitiated. D. FRANKE

A STORY FOR TEDDY AND OTHERS, by Harvey Swados (Simon and Schuster, $5.00). Collected here are eleven deft and mostly unexceptionable short stories, written in the bland, quotidian idiom of greater America, over which Swados has considerable mastery. In place of that *je me sens mal fichu* tone which is all the rage in paperbacks and news magazines, the author writes fondly about people who like to be happy and are confused because they can't be always, about adolescent love which owes nothing to Krafft-Ebing or Kinsey, about talented young people who have, apparently, never heard of the Glass family, about men and women living and working on the borders of legality who, if they do have hearts of gold, are at least saved thereby from demented flights into the city of dreadful night. The little story, set in New York City just before World War II, mixes grace and humor and affection in its observation of a brief romance in a way that suggests Fitzgerald before the crack-up. Indeed, Swados' well-known affinity for the thirties is everywhere apparent in this collection, and the reader is very likely to be pleasantly surprised that the sense of *déjà vu* matters so little in the presence of honest sophistication and mature concerns and an obvious love for telling good, simple stories because they are just that. R. BEMIS



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SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (January 8)

Ambrose Bierce:
KANGAROO AND ZEBRA

A Kangaroo . . . with some bulky object concealed in her pouch met a Zebra and . . . said: "Your costume looks as if you might have come out of the penitentiary." "Appearances are deceitful," replied the Zebra, . . . "or I should have to think that you had come out of the Legislature."

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TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. River and country, South America	38 105 76 128 13 99 141 136
B. To give forth, yield	46 71 81 92 98 107
C. River and country, South America	52 115 14 175 25 125 20
D. Opera text	62 2 89 123 72 184 10 153
E. A good town for Buckeyes to eat in (2 wds.)	66 102 174 180 117 106 157 4 187 42
F. What keeps an equine from betting on a man (2 wds.)	86 168 163 51 73 65 77 118 96 143
G. All over (not all done)	95 23 68 172 113 1 6 87 188 162
H. Unscramble NEW SIDE	133 53 88 79 69 110 7
I. Three-letter men wise guys; it's Greek to me	139 21 8 178 55 35 114 155 145 48 64 171
J. Belonging by nature or settled habit	165 156 36 111 9 147 129 74
K. A great thing to put the blame on	192 91 31 122 37 82 126
L. Ailanthus glandulosa (3 wds.)	3 56 164 179 39 169 149 186 22 146 189 12

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
M. An Old World capital	90 103 159 103 173 167
N. One who makes much or overmuch of the sense of the beautiful	116 166 57 132 15 83 24
O. Danced a modern dance	119 124 40 16 131 27 177
P. A long wandering or series of travels	137 28 151 41 78 59 190
Q. A type of grass	148 134 60 17 100 67
R. An emperor who was once one of the bad guys (now one of the good guys)	161 80 61 181 18 109 97 176
S. Finished	170 104 29 19 54
T. A screen or partition wall behind an altar	182 30 70 140 93 44 127
U. Proposed	11 138 45 32 112 121 94
V. Unscramble HOME AT TEN (hyph)	108 84 101 144 150 75 154 191 43
W. Unbelievers, some of whom want others to believe their way	135 160 185 183 33 47 5 85
X. City in Yugoslavia (one of several sp.)	152 63 49 120
Y. It takes a trained man to handle this	26 158 50 34 142 58

1 G	2 D	3 L	4 E		5 W	6 G	7 H	8 I	9 J		10 D	11 U	12 L	13 A	14 C	15 N
16 O		17 Q	18 R	19 S	20 C		21 I	22 L	23 G	24 N		25 C	26 Y	27 O	28 P	
29 S	30 T	31 K	32 U	33 W	34 Y		35 I	36 J	37 K		38 A	39 L	40 O	41 P	42 E	43 V
	44 T	45 U		46 B	47 W	48 I	49 X		50 Y	51 F		52 C	53 H	54 S	55 I	56 L
	57 N	58 Y	59 P	60 Q	61 R		62 D	63 X	64 I	65 F		66 E	67 Q	68 G	69 H	70 T
	71 B	72 D	73 F	74 J		75 V	76 A	77 F		78 P	79 H	80 R	81 B	82 K		83 N
84 V		85 W	86 F	87 G	88 H		89 D	90 M	91 K	92 B	93 T		94 U	95 G	96 F	97 R
98 B	99 A	100Q	101V	102E	103M	104S		105A	106E	107B		108V	109R	110H	111J	112U
113G		114I	115C	116N		117E	118F		119O	120X	121U	122K	123D		124O	125C
126K	127T		128A	129J	130M		131O	132N	133H		134Q	135W	136A		137P	138U
	139I	140T	141A	142Y	143F		144V	145I	146L	147J		148Q	149L	150V	151P	
152X	153D	154V		155I	156J	157E	158Y	159M		160W	161R	162G	163F	164L		165J
166N		167M	168F		169L	170S	171I	172G		173M	174E		175C	176R	177O	
178I	179L	180E	181R	182T	183W		184D	185W	186L	187E	188G		189L	190P	191V	192K

See page 178 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black lines indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.

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KEATON

(Continued from p. 167)

locomotive's rituals he could master. Everything human had receded into inviolable nature, rolled round by earth's diurnal force, a nature moreover likely to discharge itself, earthquake-like, in battalions of soldiers, maelstroms of traffic, cities-ful of cops.

It was never one cop, it was hundreds: the cop as Natural Force. Nor did popped buttons or jammed drawers, the small change of lesser comedians, inconvenience him: rather, stampeding buffalo, avalanches, shipwrecks, entire systems shattering round him. He was never shattered because never quite of their world: a visitor, not native. As though dropped to this earth from some obscure cataclysm, he coped with this earth's systems as he could. The ferocious requirements of his scripts could not hurt him; even departures from them could not hurt him. Running along the top of a freight train, he discovered a preference for a train moving in the opposite direction, and seized on a dangling cord to swing himself across. But the cord operated a water-spout, and not only did the water drench him as he swang, but its pressure hurled him to the tracks, which was not according to script. Being an accomplished acrobat, he survived the fall, and remembered it years later over some X-rays; that must have been, he reflected, the time he broke his neck.

TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from p. 140)

The Lincoln Brigade

Vincent Brome's book, *The International Brigades*, reviewed in your Jan. 11 issue, helps to keep alive one of the Communist Party's biggest lies, that they were the only ones who sprang to the defense of the Spanish Republic. For, while the Cominterns recruited them, I doubt that 15% of the volunteers were Communists.

In the Lincoln Brigade the largest number of volunteers were students. The next largest group were seamen from the Merchant Marine.

The Communist Party paid particular attention to the Merchant Marine because it contained a large pool of trained fighting men. It had within it many ex-Navy men and veterans of every armed service in the world, from the National Guard to the Foreign Legion. And in 1936 the number of Americans with military training was very small.

Most of the seamen who fought in Spain were not Communists. They believed that the Spanish Republic was in the right. Most of them came back strong anti-Reds.

In 1942 in the port of Archangel (Russian), among the crews of some 15 sunken ships I met six men who had fought in Spain. Two were Americans, four British and all hated Reds.

The Communists like to spread another lie, that merchant seamen who served in Spain were hounded by the FBI and the Coast Guard and driven from the sea. This is a lie as there are today officers and seamen who fought in the Brigade, and no one has bothered them.

Brooklyn, N.Y. HOWARD BETHELL
American President Lines

The Transit Strike

I always look forward to *NR*'s arrival in my mail box, but I was quite disappointed at your lack of openmindedness re the transit strike [Jan. 11]. In your echo of all the news media (even the *Times*), you voiced fierce disapproval of the strike, rightly so; but you failed to discuss the real issues and causes of the strike.

One such issue, ignored by the press, is that a city mechanic makes over $4.00 an hour; while a subway mechanic, with the same skills and duties makes a dollar *less* an hour.

Also missing was any disapproval voiced at our Mayor's daily performance on television, replacing The Early Show. The Mayor was invited weeks before the scheduled walk-out to attend mediation sessions. Both before and during the strike, he refused to attend these conferences; was he too busy putting on his TV makeup? This lack of cooperation and flexibility caused this situation to develop.

But, judging by all of the editorial writers, those of us not born with silver spoons in our mouths must not complain that we miss our favorite re-runs. After all, John Lindsay's soap opera must go on!

Bronx, N.Y. MRS. MAUREEN BUBEL

The Transport Workers Union is not the big, bad villain that most people and *NR* [Jan. 11] seem to think it is. I am the son of a city bus operator who is a union member and I know the facts that the press tried to hush up. The union did not desire a strike. That is why it informed the Transit Authority of its demands several months in advance of the expiration date of the old contract. While the TA knew of the TWU's demands in July of 1965 they made no offers and no attempts to negotiate in advance! They knew that the union had settled for peanuts in previous contracts because Mike Quill did not want a strike if it could be prevented. By the end of 1965 the Transit Authority was paying its workers considerably less than workers in other city departments were receiving for the same sort of work.

Your article mentions the multi-million-dollar contract settlement that the TWU got. It's not all that big. It will bring the salaries of Transit Authority employees closer to those of other civil servants, but it's still less than the last contract settlement given to the Sanitation Workers in this city.

Of course no one liked the strike, but it was used as a last resort by a union caught in a squeeze-play by the city. Earlier negotiations could probably have averted a walkout. And would also have saved the city around three-quarters of a billion dollars.

Ridgewood, N.Y. MARK JECKER

NATIONAL REVIEW Magazine and Bulletin

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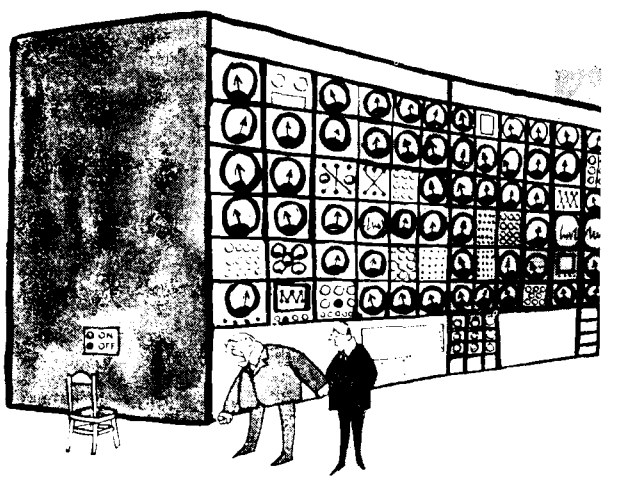
For The Record

Cuba Judenrein? 1,300 of 1,900 Jews still in Cuba (down from 11,000 when Castro took over) coming to U.S., others too aged or infirm to flee current persecution. Catholics, Protestants confirm neighborhood-informer blackmailers concentrate on Jews. . . . Fidel Castro's Dec. 2 threat to send Cuban troops to Vietnam directed more at his own military dissidents than at U.S. Refugee uncle of puppet pres. Osvaldo Dorticós says forced labor battalions and emigration have "demoralized" armed forces. . . . Malawi's Hastings Banda decrees no one may pass his entourage on the roads in either direction. Security move also saves on petrol. . . . Dun & Bradstreet has 7 offices in Africa: 6 in Republic of South Africa, 1 in Rhodesia. . . . Re oil embargo against Rhodesia, even if complete it would deprive the country of only 27 per cent of its energy requirements; the remaining 73 per cent are met by coal and hydroelectric power locally mined or generated. . . . Gen. de Gaulle expects to revisit Latin America this year. Diplomatic observers in West Germany expect another junket to take him to not only Moscow but even past the Urals—to Peking.

New Broom: First day on the job, Peace Corps director Jack Vaughn told Young Americans for Freedom executive director he wants conservative as well as Liberal recruits. Deal us in, says YAF. . . . Dean Rusk's firm tack with the foreign and domestic press bringing him into focus.

The usual search to detect conduits for CIA, unsuccessful as usual. Except maybe appropriation for new "classified documents printing plant," and $26 million for "Helium Fund"—a lot of gas, but hardly accounts for one-two billion dollar spy bill.

FYI: Committee on Electoral College Reform of the American Good Government Society conducting an educational film and literature program. (810 Dupont Circle Bldg., Washington 6, D.C.). . . . Mothers' Crusade for Victory over Communism (P.O. Box 943, Mesa, Ariz. 85200) petitioning House Minority Leader Gerald Ford to introduce bill banning trade with Communist countries. . . . Committee for Government of the People mounting a Write-Your-Congressman operation in support of the Dirksen Reapportionment Amendment. (733 15th St., NW, Wash., D.C.). . . . Congratulations due the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (302 W. 13 St., New York, N.Y. 10014) on its 25th Anniversary.



Punch Ben Roth Agency

"My God—there's been a walk-out!"

Market Note: "The people of four villages on the island of New Hanover (New Guinea) who attempted to buy Pres. Johnson from the U.S., had their money returned. A tax of 10 shillings a head was levied on supporters of what is known as the Johnson Cult. . . . Other villages, however, are still collecting money for renewed attempts to buy Pres. Johnson."

(Pacific Islands Monthly, Dec.)

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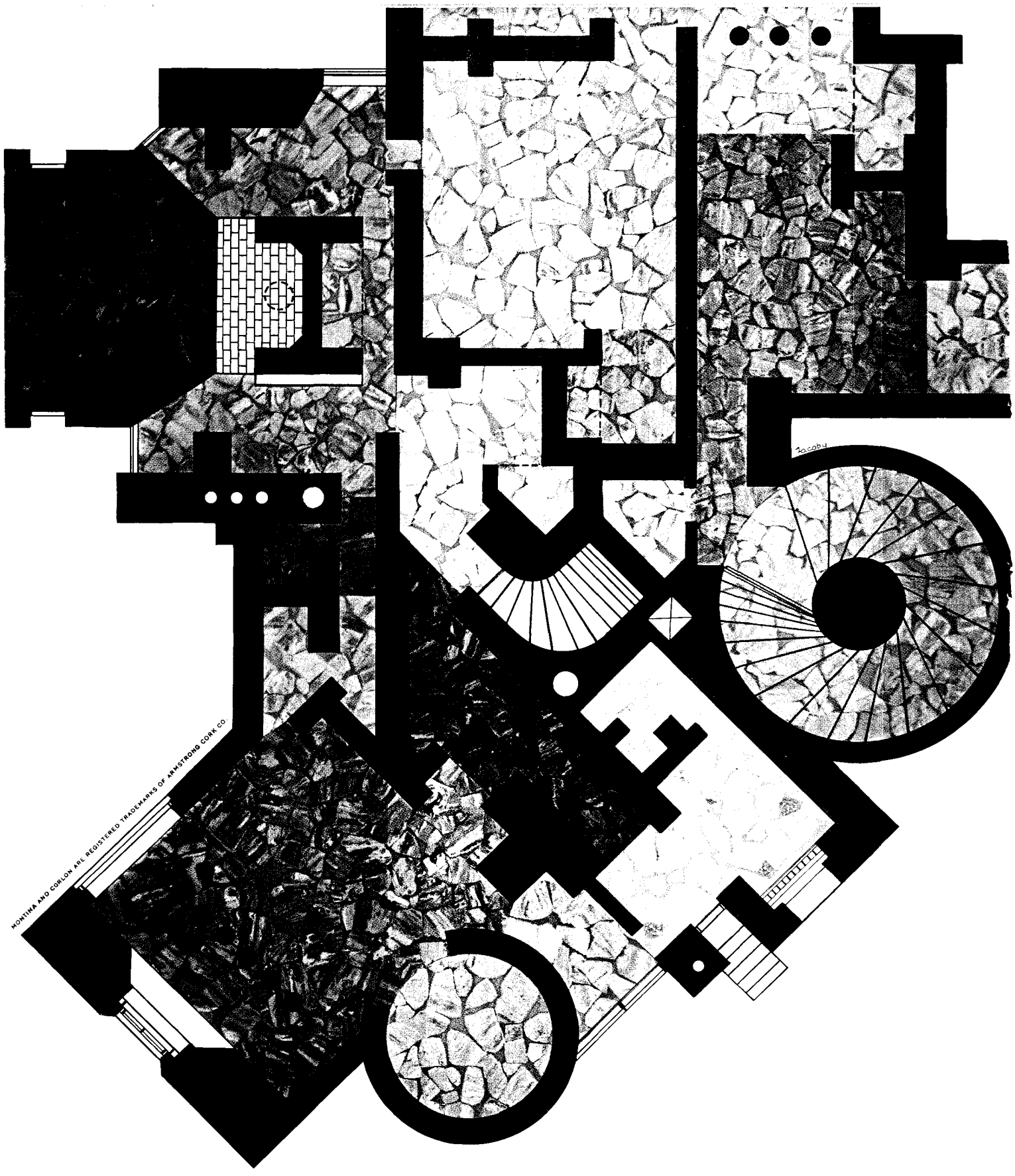

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